DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 232 435 FL 013 779

AUTHOR	Attinasi, John; And Others
TITLE	Intergenerational Perspectives on Bilingualism: From Community to Classroom. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	City Univ. of New York, N.Y. Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	82
GRANT	NIE-G-78-0091
NOTE	530p.; Produced by the Language Policy Task Force.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF02/PC22 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Bilingual Education Programs; *Bilingualism; Code Switching (Language); English (Second Language); Ethnography; *Language Attitudes; Language Research; *Language Usage; *Linguistic Borrowing; *Puerto Ricans; *Second Language Learning; Sociolinguistics; Spanish
IDENTIFIERS	*New York (New York)

ABSTRACT

Research was conducted to consider in detail the intergenerational dimensions of bilingualism in the Puerto Rican community in New York City via the children of adult immigrants who had abandoned their native language usage and who later revived it. The issues in focus are language choice, language change, language use, and language learning. The report follows the chronological progression of the research. Its chapters cover the following topics: (1) the historical background of the community and school system; (2) the methodology of the project, the children in the sample, an examination of the children's linguistic behavior through ethnographic techniques, and a comparison of their language use to that of their parents; (3) an attitudinal survey and comparison of attitudes of children and their parents and teachers toward language varieties and bilingual education; (4) examination of children's performance on various tests; (5) quantitative sociolinguistic studies of particular phenomena which are examined from an intergenerational perspective; (6) a comparison of children's and adults' behavior with regard to code switching and an indication of certain developmental patterns; and (7) a summary which emphasizes educational and policy implications of the findings. (AMH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED232435

FL013779

INTERGENERATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUALISM: FROM COMMUNITY TO CLASSROOM

Final Report to the
National Institute of Education
NIE-G-78-0091

Fall 1982

Language Policy Task Force
Center for Puerto Rican Studies, C.U.N.Y.

Investigators
(in alphabetical order)

John Attinasi / Pedro Pedraza
Shana Poplack / Alicia Pousada

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Copyright ©, RESEARCH FOUNDATION OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, 1982

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As is the case with any large, long-term, collective project, a great many people besides the investigators were involved in the different phases of work. We would like to acknowledge formally their assistance here.

Our warmest thanks to our colleagues at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, in particular our director Frank Bonilla and the members of the various review committees who tirelessly and meticulously went over the many drafts of each chapter. Special laurels go to Zunilda López, Migdalia Rodríguez, Suzana García, and Gilda Pérez who typed all those many versions.

We would also like to express our appreciation to the following scholars for their comments and assistance with the quantitative sociolinguistic chapters: David Sankoff, Suzanne Laberge, Pascale Rousseau, and Pierrette Thibault (University of Montréal); Jorge Guitart (S.U.N.Y. at Buffalo); and Juan Zamora (University of Massachusetts at Amherst).

This project would not have been possible without the funding provided by the National Institute of Education, the Ford Foundation, and the City University of New York. Our very special thanks to Marjorie Martus, formerly of the Ford Foundation, who encouraged and advised us at every point in the work.

Our greatest debt, of course, is to the community which welcomed us to its activities and taught us so very much about growing up bilingual in El Barrio. In particular, we would like to acknowledge the help of the District 4 Office--Anthony Alvarado (superintendent), Awilda Orta (then bilingual coordinator), and Sonia Gulardo (present coordinator); the school officials--Marcelino Rodríguez (principal), Susan Siegel (assistant principal), and Awilda Astondoa (bilingual coordinator); and all the teachers who so graciously allowed us to observe their classes day in and day out during what must have sometimes been trying moments.

Finally, and most importantly, our heart-felt thanks to the children and their parents, who opened their homes and private lives to us, in the vague hope that this might be of use to someone someday.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE -- INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background 1

2.0 Statement of the problem 3

3.0 Educational implications 5

4.0 Research design 7

5.0 The report 11

References 14

CHAPTER TWO -- BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction 15

2.0 The community and its residents 15

- 2.1 A historical look at El Barrio of East Harlem 15
- 2.2 The block 18
- 2.3 Block residents 27

3.0 The block 31

- 3.1 The education of the Puerto Rican child in New York City 31
- 3.2 Education at the district level 36
- 3.3 The school site 40
  - 3.3.1 A brief history 40
  - 3.3.2 The physical plant 42
  - 3.3.3 The school population 45
  - 3.3.4 The bilingual program 48

Notes 55

References 57

CHAPTER THREE -- ETHNOGRAPHY

1.0 Introduction 59

2.0 The ethnographic approach 60

  2.1 The ethnography of language 62

    2.1.1 Previous ethnographies of language use 66

  2.2 The ethnography of schools 69

3.0 Methodology 74

  3.1 Nature of the data collection 75

    3.1.1 Observation in the school 75

    3.1.2 Observations in the home and community 80

    3.1.3 Interviewing and testing 84

    3.1.4 Taping in the school and community 85

  3.2 Some observations on doing team fieldwork 88

4.0 The children and their linguistic environments 91

  4.1 Influence of the family 94

  4.2 Influence of the block 98

  4.3 Influence of the school 100

  4.4 Individual portraits 102

  4.5 Freedom of language choice 131

5.0 Language use across generations 150

5.1 Reported language use of parents and children 151

5.2 Reported vs. observed language use of children in different settings 154

    5.2.1 In the home 156

    5.2.2 On the block 157

    5.2.3 In school with friends 159

6.0 Summary conclusions 161

Notes 167

References 171

CHAPTER FOUR -- LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

1.0 Introduction 179
2.0 The parents 182
 2.1 Language use 182
  2.1.1 Code-switching 186
 2.2 Language varieties 187
 2.3 Good language 190
 2.4 Language and ethnicity 192
 2.5 Bilingualism and bilingual education 196
3.0 The children 203
 3.1 Language use 204
  3.1.1 Code switching 208
 3.2 Language varieties 210
 3.3 Good language 212
 3.4 Language and ethnicity 214
 3.5 Bilingualism and bilingual education 216
4.0 The teachers 218
 4.1 Language usage 219
  4.1.1 Code-switching 226
 4.2 Language varieties 231
 4.3 Good language 233
 4.4 Language and ethnicity 235
 4.5 Bilingualism and bilingual education 239
5.0 Summary and conclusions 247
Notes 255
References 257

CHAPTER FIVE -- MEASURING LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

1.0 Introduction 259
2.0 Approaches to assessing language proficiency 260
3.0 The tests 268
 3.1 Language Assessment Battery 268
 3.2 Word Naming by Domain 280
 3.3 Ambiguous word language dominance test 292

4.0 Cross-validating of tests and some suggestions 298

Notes 304

References 308

CHAPTER SIX -- GENDER ASSIGNMENT 311

1.0 Introduction 311

2.0 The category of gender 312

3.0 Previous studies of gender assignment 314

4.0 Variation theory and borrowings 318

5.0 Data and methods 320

5.1 Data 320

5.2 "Borrowed" nouns 322

5.3 Coding procedures 323

5.3.1 Phonological rules for gender assignment in Spanish and French 324

5.3.2 Syntactic requirements for the expression of gender 327

6.0 The expression of gender according to syntactic requirements 328

7.0 The roles of individual factors in gender assignment 330

7.1 The factors 331

7.1.1 Physiological gender 331

7.1.2 Analogical gender 332

7.1.3 Phonological shape 334

7.1.4 Suffixal analogy and homophony 335

7.2 Independence of factor effects 336

8.0 The "unmarked" tendency 338

9.0 Multivariate analysis of contribution of factors to gender assignment 342

10.0 Discussion 345

Notes 348

References 351

CHAPTER SEVEN -- LOANWORD INTEGRATION

1.0 Introduction 354

2.0 Previous work 355

  2.1 The linguistic dimensions of borrowing 355

  2.2 The social dimensions of borrowing 357

  2.3 Analytical distinctions 359

3.0 An operational framework 362

4.0 Data and Methods 366

  4.1 Indices of integration 368

5.0 Results 373

  5.1 Preliminary tabulations 373

  5.2 Relations among indices 375

  5.3 Principal components analysis 376

    5.3.1 Projection of indices 380

    5.3.2 Projection of semantic fields 384

  5.4 Intergenerational aspects of loanword assimilation 387

6.0 Conclusions 391

Notes 397

References 398

CHAPTER EIGHT -- CODE-SWITCHING

1.0 Introduction 400

2.0 Defining code-switching 402

  2.1 Distinguishing code-switches and other language contact phenomena 403

  2.2 Code-switching constraints 406

  2.3 Code-switching types 408

3.0 Methodology 409

  3.1 Data collection 409

  3.2 Coding procedures 411

  3.3 Quantitative analysis 411

4.0 Results 412

  4.1 Amount of code-switching 412

  4.2 Code-switching types 413

  4.3 Inter-generational comparison 414

5.0 Conclusions 419

Notes 421

References 422

CHAPTER NINE -- CONCLUSIONS

1.0 Summary 425

2.0 Language choice 425

3.0 Language change 428

4.0 Language use 431

5.0 Language learning 433

6.0 Educational implications 434

  6.1 Applications 435

  6.2 Problems 437

  6.3 Questions 440

7.0 Conclusion 442

Notes 445

References 446

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE -- INTRODUCTION

Table 1 - Composition of sample 9

CHAPTER TWO -- BACKGROUND

Figure 1 - Community planning districts of New York City 17

Figure 2 - Land use 19

Figure 3a - The block 21

Figure 3b - The neighborhood 22

Figure 4 - Reported use triangle 29

Figure 5 - School floor plan 43

Table 1 - Structure of the bilingual program 49

CHAPTER THREE -- ETHNOGRAPHY

Tables 1a & b - Distribution of sample children across classes and semesters 77

Figure 1 - The block with designation of play areas 93

Figure 2a - Reported language use in home 132

Figure 2b - Observed language use in home 133

Figure 3a - Children's naming of best friends in school and reported language spoken with each 135

Figure 3b - Observed children's networks and language spoken with each in school 136

Figure 4 - Observed social and language use networks on block 137

Table 2 - Observed language use in home, all settings, along with school program for "lame" and "streetwise" children 145

Figure 5a - Reported use of Spanish only by adults and children according to interlocutor 152

Figure 5b - Reported use of English only by adults and children according to interlocutor 152

Figure 5c - Reported use of both Spanish and English by adults and children according to interlocutor 152

Table 3 - Reported and observed language used most frequently at home, on the block, and in school according to placement in school program 155

CHAPTER FOUR -- LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Figure X - Language used by parents with different interactants 184

Figure Y - Language used by children with different interactants 207

Figure 2 - Language used by bilingual teachers with different interactants 221

Figure R - Speakers reporting English only with different interactants 223

Figure S - Speakers reporting Spanish only with different interactants 224

Figure T - Speakers reporting both languages with different interactants 225

Table 1 - Language learned first 248

Table 2 - Language used most 248

Table 3 - "Do you ever mix Spanish and English?" 248

Table 4 - "Is code-switching bad?" 248

Table 5 - "Do you speak 'good' Spanish?" 249

Table 6 - "Do you speak 'good' English?" 249

Table 7 - "If someone told you that you talked like a Puerto Rican, would you take it as a compliment?" 249

Table 8 - Comparison of parents and teachers on questions concerning bilingualism and bilingual education 250

CHAPTER FIVE -- MEASURING LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Table 1 - LAB results for children in bilingual classes, 1979 and 1980 274

Table 2 - Comparison of LAB, self-report, and observation assessments of language dominance for three children 276

Table 3 - Distribution of "LAB Children" in grades K-2 and 5-6, 1979 279

Table 4 - Raw and difference scores from word naming by domains 283

Table 5 - Proportion of words in each domain in Spanish or English among children in bilingual and monolingual classes 285

Table 6 - Proportional difference scores and resulting dominance ratings: word naming by domains 287

Table 7 - Number of children with particular dominance by domain 289

Table 8 - Number of children in bilingual or monolingual classes with particular dominance by domain 289

Table 9 - Comparison of dominance ratings in different domains from word naming, self-report, and observation among children in bilingual and monolingual classes 291

Table 10 - Raw scores and dominance ratings from ambiguous stimulus test for children in bilingual and monolingual classes 295

Table 11 - Comparison of ambiguous stimulus, self-report, and observed dominance ratings for children in bilingual and monolingual classes 297

Table 12 - Language dominance assessments from five different sources for children in bilingual and monolingual classes 299

CHAPTER SIX -- GENDER ASSIGNMENT

Table 1 - Factors conditioning gender assignment 324

Table 2 - Percentage of gender expressed according to syntactic requirement 329

Table 3 - Proportion of feminine gender assigned to borrowed nouns according to conditioning factors 331

Table 4 - Effect of analogical gender on assignment of masculine gender when tokens determined by physiological gender are removed 333

Table 5 - Proportion of feminine gender assigned to English loanwords as a function of phonological shape of word ending 335

Table 6 - Independent effects of analogy and phonology in determining gender assignment 337

Table 7 - Gender assignment in host language nouns versus borrowed nouns 340

Table 8 - Contribution of factors selected as significant to the assignment of feminine gender to borrowed nouns in Puerto Rican Spanish 342

Table 9 - Contribution of factors selected as significant to the assignment of feminine gender to borrowed nouns in Montreal French 343

CHAPTER SEVEN -- LOANWORD INTEGRATION

Table 1 - Indices of integration for 38 semantic fields 367a

Table 2 - Correlations among indices 377

Table 3 - Projection of indices on four principal components 379

Figure 1 - Projection of indices on first two principal components 381

Figure 2 - Projection of indices on second and third principal components 382

Legend for Figures 1 and 2 383

Figure 3 - Scores of 38 semantic fields on first two principal components 385

Figure 4 - Relationship between gender consistency and number of different types 386

Table 4 - Children's and adults' average scores on twelve indices 388

Figure 5 - Principal components analysis of children's indices and adults' indices first two principal components 389

CHAPTER EIGHT -- CODE-SWITCHING

Table 1 - Identification of code-switching according to type of integration into base language 405

Figure 1 - Permissable code-switching points 407

Table 2 - Proportion of total code-switches by school program and sex of child 412

Table 3 - Type of code-switch by school program of child 413

Table 4 - Type of code-switch by sex of child 414

Figure 2 - Proportion of different code-switching types for adults and children 417

1.0 Background

Nearly one quarter of the population of New York City uses Spanish to some degree in daily communication, making New York the fifth largest Spanish-speaking city in the world (Migration Division 1975). This situation has resulted primarily from the mass migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. which peaked between 1945 and 1965 and has since been converted into more complicated forms of circulatory movement between the island and the states. More recently, the development of the Spanish-speaking community has been furthered by the proliferation of other migrants from the Caribbean and Latin America. However, Puerto Ricans continue to represent the bulk of N.Y.C. Hispanics with an estimated population of close to 2 million, a figure which approaches one percent of the total national population (National Puerto Rican Forum 1980).

This Puerto Rican presence is reflected in the city school system where Puerto Rican children number more than 250,000 or one fourth of the total New York City public school population and after Blacks represent the largest minority group. As the Puerto Rican population is a young one (more than half are 20 years of age or younger), the question of education is exceedingly critical in assessing the current and future situation of the overall community.

Education, traditionally viewed as an avenue of upward mobility among working-class and poor people, has not proven so for Puerto Ricans, either in the continental U.S. or in Puerto Rico itself.[1] Drop-out and delayed schooling rates for Puerto Ricans are among the highest, and median years of school attendance among the lowest, for any group in the United States. As of 1977, only 30.6% of Puerto Ricans in the States 25 years and older had graduated from high school, as contrasted with 66% of the non-Spanish population. Aspira of America calculates that 21% of the 16-18 year olds in N.Y.C. drop out without graduating (Aspira 1976: 16). The situation is even worse in Puerto Rico where the drop-out rate for the school year 1976-77 was around 54% (U.S. Department of Commerce figures).

This high drop-out rate results in a very low representation of Puerto Ricans in higher education - in 1975, 13% of NYC whites and 4% of Blacks had finished college while only 1% of Puerto Ricans were college graduates. Among those who succeeded in attaining advanced degrees, relatively few have been able to transform that achievement into the traditional rewards of income, job stability, or promotion.

During the 1970s, some twenty thousand Puerto Rican students rotated between schools in Puerto Rico and N.Y.C., not to mention the considerable mobility within the schools of N.Y.C. alone. While these transfers have been observed to have some effect on dropout rates, they are only one among many of the factors operative in the overall school failure of Puerto Ricans (Aspira 1976). One factor which has been seen as particularly salient in accounting for the predicament of these children is language. Specifically, the issue of bilingual education has served as a rallying point for community struggles for cultural, linguistic, and educational rights. The central assumption of the widespread and dramatic Hispanic mobilization on behalf of bilingual education has been that instruction in Spanish along with English is a key to reversing the educational failure experienced by the bilingual or Spanish dominant child.

2.0 Statement of the problem

Until recently decision-making regarding placement, entry-exit, curriculum, program development, materials production, teacher training, and testing within bilingual programs has occurred with little or no knowledge about language forms current within language minority communities, the role of non-standard dialects in education, or the impact of bilingualism on language acquisition and cognitive development. Legislative and judicial mandates, rather than empirical research, have defined the parameters of bilingual instruction, with the major criterion for "treatment" being language "dominance", an extremely problematic construct with relatively little research substantiation.

The Language Policy Task Force of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, City University New York, has been engaged during the past decade in various research projects attempting to assess the linguistic resources, skills, and traditions of the members of a Puerto Rican community in East Harlem. A major three-pronged investigation, incorporating ethnographic, attitudinal, and quantitative sociolinguistic approaches to the analysis of sociolinguistic patterns of language use among adults, was intended as a remedy to research-less policy-making and served as the basis for the research on children presented in this report.

The findings of the earlier project (Language Policy Task Force 1980) portray a stable, non-diglossic, bilingual community in which Spanish and English are viable in all domains of interaction, separately and in a mixed form known as code-switching which maintains the structural integrity of both languages. Residents value their bilingualism and see the oral maintenance and literate elaboration of Spanish along with the acquisition of similar skills in English as a desideratum for their community, with bilingual education serving as a primary tool in the attainment of that goal. Members of this speech community also recognize that their varieties differ in certain regards from those of other Hispanics and from those of other English-speaking New Yorkers. Our quantitative research into plural marking, code-switching, and verb system structure characterizes Puerto Rican Spanish as a distinct variety existing in a language contact situation and nevertheless retaining the essential structure of standard Spanish.

While there does appear to be a shift in preference toward English on the part of the younger generation of this community, the functioning of a language revitalization life cycle appears to prevent such shift from resulting in language loss or death. In the course of this cycle, young adults temporarily abandon their mother tongue, Spanish, in adolescence only to revive it once they begin raising families of their own. In addition, the circularity of the migration process between Puerto Rico and N.Y.C. plus the expansion of other Hispanic groups points to the continued maintenace of a bilingual community with a strong Puerto Rican identity.

In the present research, we further our inquiry to consider in more detail the intergenerational dimensions of bilingualism in this community via the linguistic behavior of the children of these adults. We are primarily concerned here with four kinds of issues which confront the bilingual individual as she/he passes from infancy to childhood and then to adulthood - language choice, language change, language use, and language learning. More specifically, we explore the following questions: which of several competing varieties does she/he adopt as the dominant vernacular in every day interaction with peers? What changes in that vernacular result from the competing influences present in the social environment? How does she/he use the vernacular in various social situations and learn to switch to other varieties when necessary and/or appropriate? And finally, how does she/he acquire the formal and informal varieties required for appropriate behavior within family, peer, and community-wide networks as well as for access to the culture of the wider speech community?

3.0 Educational implications

The answers to these questions point to complex patterns of behavior which play a decisive role in determining the success of the educational process and the bilingual program in particular. One major goal in carrying out this research has been to analyze these patterns so that they can be seen as resources rather than obstacles to the education of the children, and serve as a basis for a realistic and effective educational policy.

In order for a school program, whether it be bilingual or monolingual English, to be even minimally effective in properly placing and instructing children, it must begin with an understanding of their linguistic and cultural characteristics. With time, a teacher may be able to assess linguistic and social behavior within the classroom and even advance certain hypotheses regarding particular "problems"; however, any analyses that do not extend beyond the walls of the school are doomed to inadequacy. Without an understanding of community norms and assumptions that underlie children's school behavior, or knowledge about their behavior outside of school, there can be no complete appreciation of their classroom activity. Any understanding will be impoverished and may result in serious contradictions between intended and actual outcomes of teaching.

School and community settings form part of a whole, and what transpires in one may be comprehended only when viewed in terms of that whole. The verbal performance manifested in the classroom may be specific to that setting and not representive of the full spectrum of the child's capabilities. As we shall see in this report, children who are very subdued and withdrawn in class interaction may be non-stop talkers at home. Others who appear to have few skills in Spanish may use it regularly in certain interactions within the community; still others who fail every English test may spend the better part of their play time using precisely that language and very effectively.

The need to obtain information about non-school behavior in order to interpret conduct in school is especially crucial in urban areas, where ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity tends to be the norm and where considerable residential mobility and shifting school boundaries make for a student population that is difficult to characterize with confidence. In ethnic and linguistic minority communities, these problems are further magnified by clear conflicts between the expectations of the school personnel and community residents with regard to the language of the classroom, communicative etiquette, discipline, homework, to mention only a few. As teachers and other school personnel increasingly live outside the communities in which they teach, even when they are of the same ethnic, linguistic, or racial group, or originated in the same socioeconomic class, certain stereotypes are generated and maintained which adversely affect the way they interact with the children. The results of these stereotypes may range from minor misunderstandings and communication breakdowns all the way to outrightly racist mistreatment and denial of the children's capacity to succeed.

Schools tend to make certain assumptions about what constitutes "normal" language use and rarely consider the existence of inter-and intra-group variation in communicative norms. This variation rests upon but goes beyond the phonological, grammatical, semantic, and syntactic structures within discourse and includes questions of turn allocation, distribution of speech and silence, response timing, requesting and receiving of information, and verbal performance. In the case of the Puerto Rican community, these norms are drawn from two different traditions, that of the island and that of the U.S. metropolitan experience, which interact, sometimes converge, sometimes conflict, and always relate to one another in a dynamic way. This confluence of traditions is clear in such phenomena as code-switching where elements from two systems are intercalated in such a way as to create a third, with its own norms of usage and cultural utility.

4.0 Research design

As we have already discussed, a child's behavior in school is grounded in norms acquired at home and in the community. When this behavior is perceived as a problem by teachers, as it often is, it would appear that the knowledge of the underlying norms could not help but enhance the interpretation of the behavior and the likelihood of improving educational outcomes. This constituted a basic assumption in the formulation of our research design.

Pursuing the multi-disciplinary approach which had been so productive in our earlier research, we utilized participant observation, attitudinal and sociolinguistic interviews, standardized tests, and quantitative sociolinguistic analysis to develop a more precise understanding of the linguistic norms and resources of a sample of 16 children, and to a more limited extent, their parents and teachers.

In selecting the children for our study, we were guided by several criteria. First, because of our intergenerational focus, we were interested in those public school children who resided on the block we had been studying in depth in our previous studies. We especially attempted to select those children who were the offspring of our adult subjects. Second, in order to examine the relative effects of home, school, and peer group on children's language development, it was considered appropriate to select children of school entry age (when home influence is strongest and when children are first faced formally with a situation in which knowledge of the language of the dominant culture is institutionally required of them) and compare them with those leaving elementary school (when peer influence is greatest and when children are most likely to begin demonstrating preferences in the use of the two languages). As a result, we chose two age sets of children, one from kindergarten through second grade and another from the fifth and sixth grades. We were also concerned with the comparative effects of monolingual and bilingual education programs on the pupils' language repertoires, and chose our sample accordingly. Finally, in order to consider the effects of differential socialization, we divided our sample by sex (see Table 1).

Originally, we had selected a sample of 20 children. As time went by, however, several children were withdrawn and new ones integrated into the study. Reasons for withdrawals included the discovery that the child was neither Puerto Rican nor raised with Puerto Ricans, a loss of interest or sense of discomfort at being observed on the part

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE

	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Bilingual	Monolingual	Bilingual	Monolingual
LOWER GRADES	Chico 1, 2	Pito K, 1	Iris 1 ←	Iris K
	Indio 2,3	Gordito K,1	Josie K ←	Josie K
		Baby 2,3	Dorcas K,1	Debbie 2,3
		Ramon 2,3	Flaquita 2,3	
			Juanita 2,3	
UPPER GRADES	Herminio 5,6			Linda 5,6*
	Conejo 6,7			Maria 6,7*

← changed program

* once in a bilingual class

of either the child or the child's parents, the family's moving to another area of the city or back to Puerto Rico, and in one case, the unusability of the data due to the child's emotional problems. Replacements were made, sometimes easily, when children who had earlier refused to participate changed their minds as the peer value of the tape recorder became clear, when curiosity overcame them or when previously overlooked children in the proper age range were located. A pair of identical twins who lived on an adjoining block were incorporated into the sample as well, because of their initial differences in language repertoire despite almost indistinguishable life circumstances.

When all the shifts were completed, a sample of sixteen children remained, six boys and six girls from the younger age set and two boys and two girls from the older age set. Because of these changes and the natural distribution of children on the block and in the school (many of the block children were in the third and fourth grades which we didn't examine), there are some empty cells in the sample grid. For instance, we have no boys in the monolingual upper grade classes as none lived on the block when our study began. No girls in the bilingual upper grades are in the sample, since our only two candidates were withdrawn.

The actual process of selection began in the school and was verified by our observations on the block and our previous knowledge of the population. The bilingual program coordinator provided class lists for the grades we were interested in and introduced us to the teachers in those grades. We briefly outlined our research plans for them including the possibility of studying one or more of the children in their classes once the sample selection was completed. The teachers were all willing to cooperate with us though they were not obligated to.

From the class lists we pulled out 21 children in those grades listed as living on the block. We soon discovered that these lists were neither complete nor totally accurate due to movement of families and irregularities in the way children were registered by their parents and guardians. We began by observing all the children in the classrooms, and then narrowed down the sample on the basis of the aforementioned selection criteria to the 16 children who will be examined in detail in this report.

5.0 The report

The structure of this final report reflects to a great extent the chronological progression of the research. Chapter 2 describes the historical background of the community and school system, utilizing information drawn from previous and current ethnographic fieldwork as well as analysis of pertinent documents such as newspaper accounts and Board of Education memoranda, interviews with kev communitv and school personnel, and review of other research projects carried out in the area.

Chapter 3, the bulk of the report, explains the methodology of the project, introduces the children in the sample, and examines their linguistic behavior in home, community, and school interactions via ethnographic techniques such as participant observation. It further compares their language use to that of their parents and attempts to isolate those factors which appear most crucial to our understanding of the sociolinguistic use, choice, change, and learning of language in one Puerto Rican community.

Chapter 4 compares the attitudes expressed by the children, their parents, and their teachers toward language varieties and bilingual education as well as the overall language usage patterns reported by each of the three samples. The results of the formal attitudinal survey are analyzed in light of the observations made of daily behavior.

Chapter 5 scrutinizes the performance of the children on several standardized tests of language proficiency and dominance and makes comparisons of the results obtained among the different tests as well as comparisons to self-report and observation. In the process the chapter reveals the inadequacies of each of the instruments and suggests alternative means of assessing language capabilities.

These chapters are followed by three quantitative sociolinguistic studies of particular phenomena extracted from naturalistic tape recordings obtained during fieldwork. Each is examined from an intergenerational perspective, comparing children and adults. Chapter 6 focuses on the assignment of gender to loanwords and represents an analysis at the lexical level of the effects of language contact on the linguistic system of bilingual speakers. Chapter 7 reaches even further into the examination of the treatment of loanwords and considers the variety of ways in which borrowed material is integrated into the base language, gender assignment being only one of many. The corpus here was solicited from children and their parents via a loanword elicitation instrument.

Chapter 8 takes up a topic we have considered in great detail in past reports - the alternation of languages within discourse, or code-switching. Here we compare the behavior of the children with that of their parents and indicate certain developmental patterns.

Chapter 9 summarizes and concludes this report, bringing to the forefront the educational and policy implications of the findings and indicating areas for additional investigation.

Notes

1. We hasten to clarify that we have never endorsed this "traditional" view of the role of education in social mobility. The relationship is far too complex to be explained by simple causalities, and demands careful consideration of the historical particularities of each group with respect to economic status, racial or ethnic identifiability, cultural norms, etc. It is our contention that only when a group achieves a certain degree of economic mobility does educational mobility become possible.

   The situation of Puerto Ricans,both here and on the island, is a case in point. Because of the economic and political nature of their colonial relationship to U.S. society, Puerto Ricans have been locked into subordinate economic positions which make the achievement of educational goals exceedingly problematic and even questionnable, given the lack of corresponding employment. In addition, their forced concentration in poor, urban communities where educational crisis is at its worst makes it even less likely that education can serve as an uplifting social mechanism.

References

Aspira. 1976. Social factors and educational attainment among Puerto Ricans in U.S. metropolitan areas, 1970. New York: Aspira of America.

Language Policy Task Force. 1980. Social dimensions of language use in East Harlem. Working paper No. 7. Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños. CUNY.

Migration Division. Department of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. December 1975. Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics in New York City's schools and universities.

National Puerto Rican Forum. 1980. Fact sheets on the Puerto Rican community. New York: NPRF.

CHAPTER TWO--BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides basic background information necessary for the understanding and appreciation of the complex social and linguistic environment in which this group of Puerto Rican children and their families function. It is divided into two basic sections. The first presents the community, its history, its residents and their daily struggles to survive and maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage. The second considers the school, an institution engaged in a symbiotic relationship with the community that houses it.

2.0 The Community and its residents

In this section, we examine what Jacob (1977) calls the surrounding and the immediate environment of the children in our sample. We begin with a brief account of the history of the Puerto Rican community in East Harlem, and then move to a description of the block we have been studying over the past six years -- its physical dimensions and what most distinguishes it, its people.

2.1 A historical look at El Barrio of East Harlem

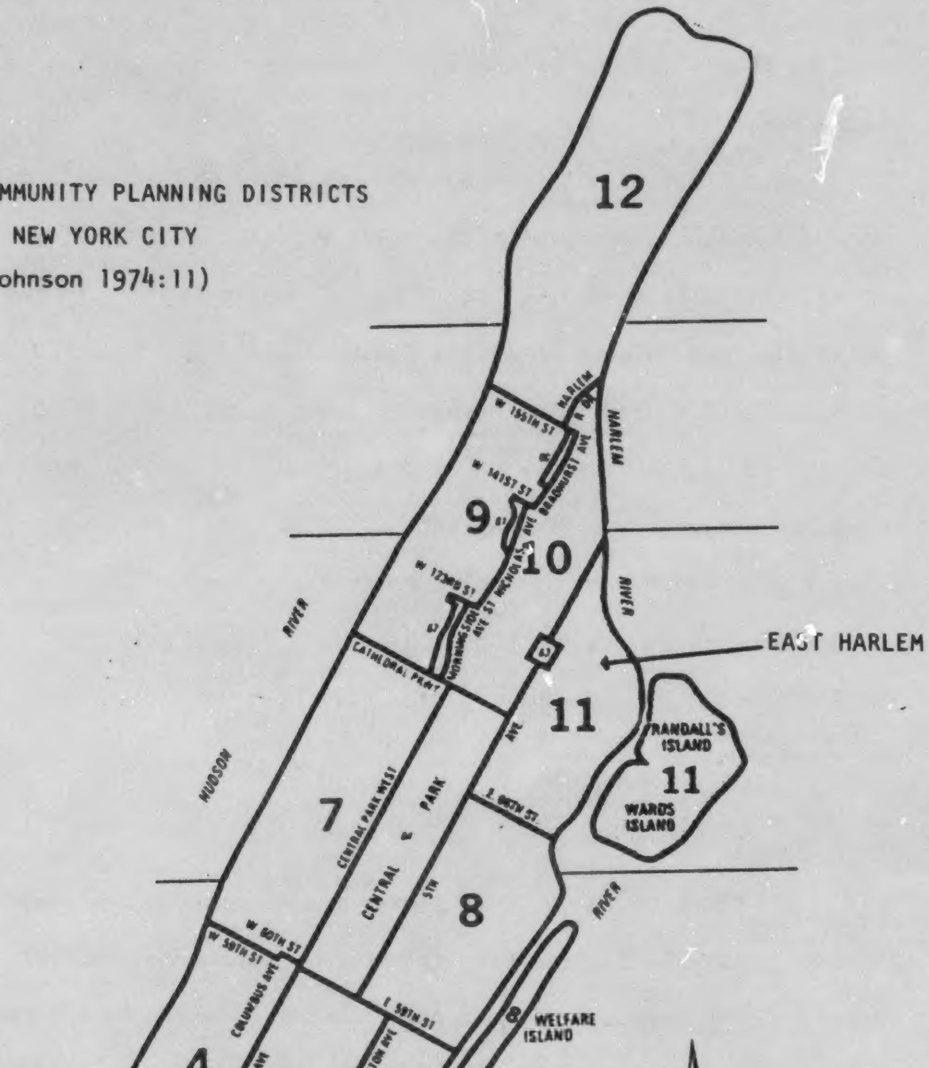
Puerto Ricans have resided in New York City since 1838; however, it was not until the 1920's that migration from the island began in earnest. The Puerto Rican community developed rapidly throughout the Depression era, being concentrated almost solely in the low-income area between 96th and 125th Streets, and between 5th Avenue and the East River, known as East Harlem (see Figure 1). Its numbers increased from

7000 in 1920 to 61,000 in 1940 (U.S. Census figures), successfully displacing the Italian community which had earlier occupied the area. East (or Spanish) Harlem became, and remains to this day, an overwhelmingly Puerto Rican district.

The wave of migration peaked at 75,000 new arrivals in 1953, by which time the Puerto Rican community had begun to extend itself to other boroughs of the city, particularly Brooklyn and the Bronx. The overall Puerto Rican population in New York City steadily increased from its 1950 level of 246,000 to 811,800 in 1972,[2] by that point being well dispersed throughout the city, with Puerto Rican neighborhoods in the Lower East Side, Chelsea and much of the rest of the West Side of Manhattan; the South Bronx, Morrisania, Tremont Avenue, and Hunts Point in the Bronx; and the Williamsburg, Bushwick, and Ft. Greene areas in Brooklyn. East Harlem has since ceased to be the largest center of Puerto Rican residence in the city, and approximately 40% of the entire Puerto Rican population is presently located in the Bronx, 33% in Brooklyn, only 23% in all of Manhattan, and 4% in Queens and Staten Island combined (see Stewart 1972, Hosay 1977).

More than half of the residents of East Harlem are Hispanic (primarily Puerto Rican), and this proportion is even higher in the eastern and southern census tracts where few blacks or other non-Hispanics live. While the area has long been primarily residential (see Figure 2), the housing situation is poor, as numerous buildings have been abandoned or razed; however, there has also been considerable rebuilding (particularly of housing projects) and rehabilitation of old tenements in recent years. Because of the housing problem, the population in the area has been steadily decreasing (from 180,000 in 1960 to 160,000 in

MAP OF COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICTS
OF NEW YORK CITY
(Johnson 1974:11)


12
HARLEM R DR
W 155TH ST
W 141ST ST
BRADHURST AVE
HARLEM
9
10
ST NICHOLAS AVE
W 123RD ST
MORNINGSIDE AVE
RIVER
EAST HARLEM
CATHEDRAL PKWY
11
RANDALL'S ISLAND
11
WARDS ISLAND
E 96TH ST
HUDSON
RIVER
7
CENTRAL PARK WEST
CENTRAL PARK
5TH
AVE
8
RIVER
W 60TH ST
W 59TH ST
COLUMBUS AVE
E 59TH ST
8
WELFARE ISLAND
4
8TH AVE
5
E 40TH ST
LEXINGTON AVE
6
E 34TH ST
W 26TH ST
AVE OF AMERICAS
MADISON AVE
EAST
W 14TH ST
E 14TH ST
4TH AVE
2
CANAL ST
3
BOWERY
BAXTER ST
1
PEARL ST
BROOKLYN BRIDGE
RIVER
EAST
1
GOVERNORS ISLAND
N

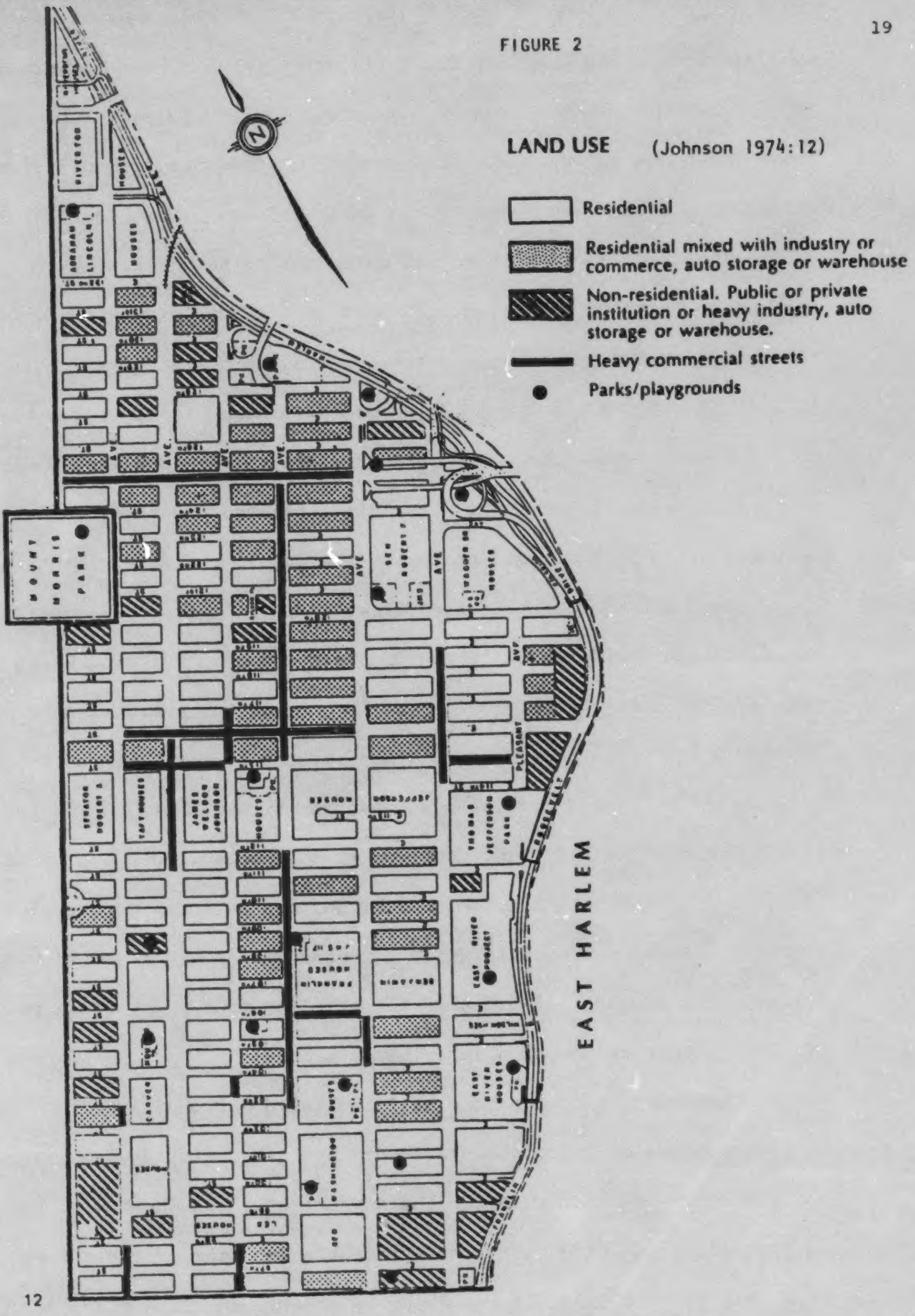
1970), a fact which has had serious consequences for local schools and businesses.[3]

Regardless of all of these changes, East Harlem remains an important cultural and political center for all New York City Hispanics. It is in this area that cultural institutions like the Museo del Barrio, the Galería Morivivī, Teatro Cuatro, the Taller Boricua, and others are housed. The Museum of the City of New York is also located within its boundaries. The area is further distinguished as the first officially bilingual school district in New York City, the site of long and fierce struggles to obtain Hispanic language and culture instruction in the public schools. Politically, it is one of the few districts in which Hispanics have been able to achieve full representation.[4]

2.2 The block

The block on which the children who constitute the sample for this study live is located between two busy commercial avenues in East Harlem. It is composed of four and five story tenements with small businesses on the ground floors of about a third of the buildings. The east end of the block is the busiest, containing a produce market, a large *bodega* (grocery store), a cleaners, a slip-cover establishment, a shoe repair shop, a pinball gallery (until recently a pet store), and a plumbing supply store. The west end of the block is more residential though it also includes a small *bodega*, a candy store (now closed), a social club, a numbers parlor, and an *alcapurria* (fried pastry) stand. In the center of the north side of the block is a small storefront Protestant church whose members are deeply involved in housing re-

FIGURE 2


LAND USE (Johnson 1974:12)
Residential
Residential mixed with industry or commerce, auto storage or warehouse
Non-residential. Public or private institution or heavy industry, auto storage or warehouse.
Heavy commercial streets
Parks/playgrounds
MOUNT MORRIS PARK
THOMAS JEFFERSON PARK
EAST RIVER HOUSES
PLEASANT AVE
EAST HARLEM
12

habilitation in the area, an old firehouse which has been converted into a community theater and art workshop, and an old police precinct house which now serves to house a variety of community organizations, including a well-known Puerto Rican music school (See Figure 3).

The block's brick tenements date back to before W.W.I. They vary as to state of repair, but in most the effects of time, vigorous use, and infrequent maintenance are obvious, both inside and out. However, in contrast to neighboring blocks, there are few signs of complete abandonment (only two buildings are vacant) and many indications of the effort to keep the buildings painted and presentable. Many are owned by the residents or by the local housing organization.

The buildings are situated directly on the street. Occasionally there will be a wider spot in the sidewalk due to a building being set back further than its neighbors, but in general the buildings are connected in even strips down each side of the street. All of these residential buildings have stoops (several steps with a landing leading from the street to the front door) on which people congregate to talk, play, or just take the air, and which function as focal points of block activity. Some of the children in our study are not allowed to venture far from their homes but are able to socialize from the vantage point of their stoops or the area immediately nearby.

The front windows of the buildings also serve as important points of access to block life, and apartments are often fitted with pillows and chairs in front of them for the comfort of those who prefer to survey or participate in block activities from the interior of their homes. These may include children too young to enter into block play, adults too old to venture outdoors, and mothers keeping close supervision over

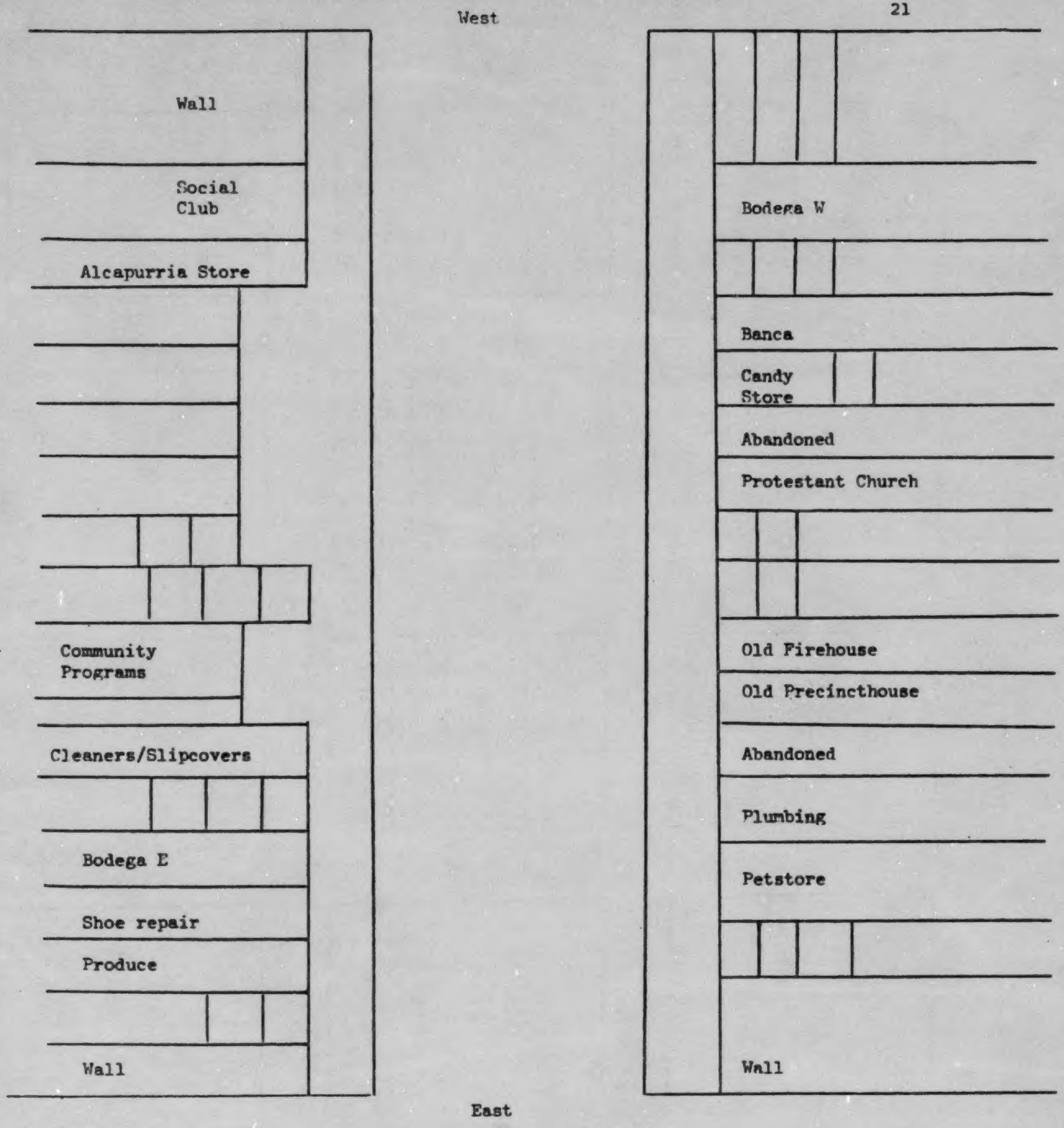
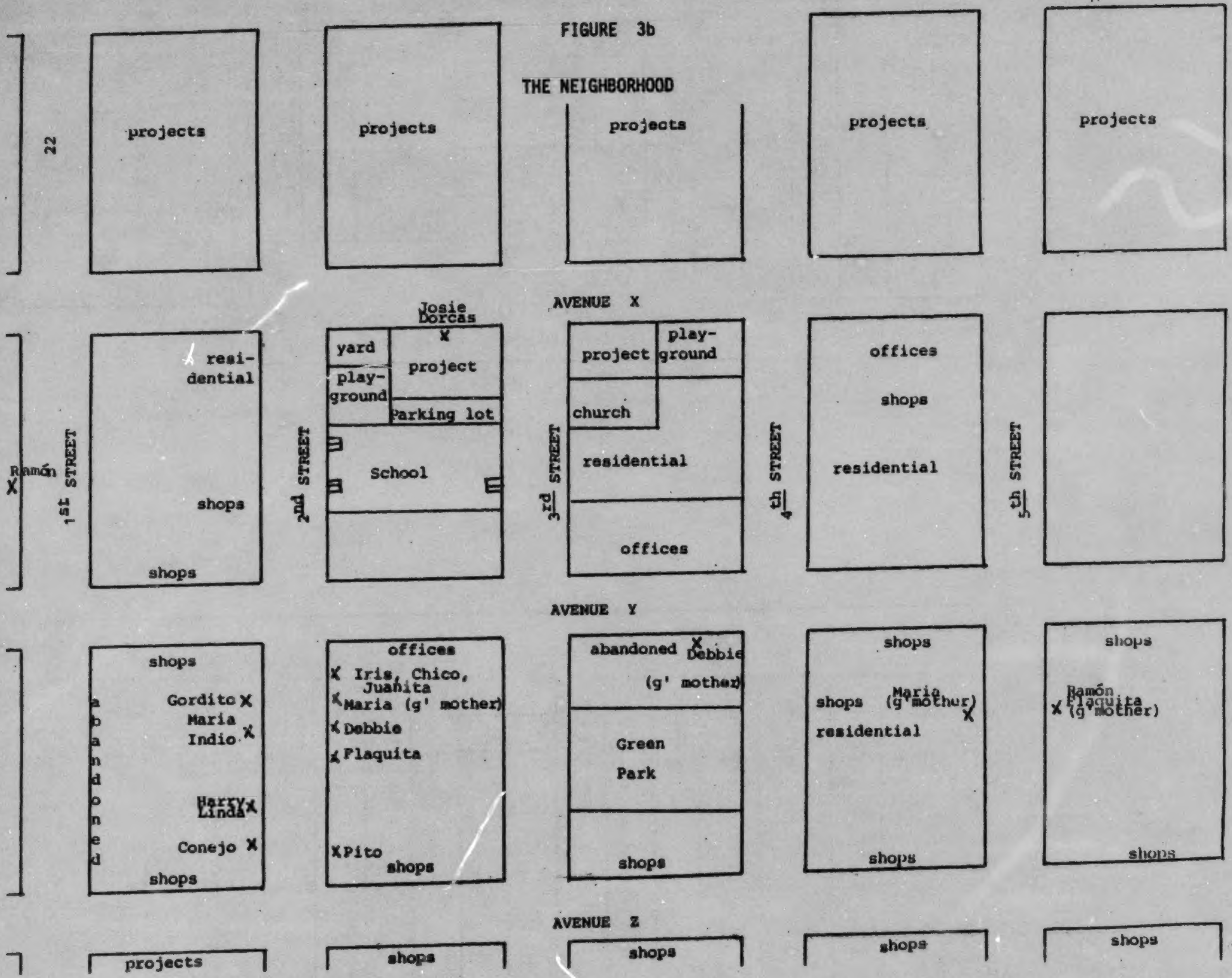

West
Wall
Social Club
Alcapurria Store
Community Programs
Cleaners/Slipcovers
Bodega E
Shoe repair
Produce
Wall
Bodega W
Banca
Candy Store
Abandoned
Protestant Church
Old Firehouse
Old Precincthouse
Abandoned
Plumbing
Petstore
Wall
East

Figure 3a The Block

FIGURE 3b

THE NEIGHBORHOOD


22
projects
projects
projects
projects
projects
AVENUE X
Josie
Dorcas
resi-
dential
yard
play-
ground
project
Parking lot
School
project
play-
ground
church
residential
offices
offices
shops
residential
Ramón
1st STREET
2nd STREET
3rd STREET
4th STREET
5th STREET
shops
shops
AVENUE Y
shops
abandoned
Gordito
Maria
Indio
Harry
Linda
Conejo
shops
offices
Iris, Chico,
Juanita
Maria (g' mother)
Debbie
Flaquita
Pito
shops
abandoned
Debbie
(g' mother)
Green
Park
shops
shops
shops
Maria
(g' mother)
residential
shops
shops
Ramón
Flaquita
(g' mother)
shops
AVENUE Z
projects
shops
shops
shops
shops

their offspring.

The rear of many of the buildings opens onto small backyards or narrow alleys in which dogs are walked, clothes occasionally hung to dry, and where garbage often accumulates. Few of the children use these areas for play as they are considered dangerous due to the debris and the drug addicts who frequent relatively secluded spots such as these. However, the backyard of the north side of the block was recently transformed by residents into a community garden which quickly became a show-place of urban agricultural enterprise, complete with a vine-covered fence and benches for relaxation and socializing.

Access to most buildings is extremely easy. Few have sturdy, locked front doors of any consequence. Usually the mailboxes are just inside the door. As many are unmarked or poorly marked, locating particular tenants by this means is somewhat problematic, as we found when we began observing the children and their families on the block. It is generally more efficient to query others as to the whereabouts of a particular person. The interiors of the buildings are generally dark, due both to the somber colors of paint used in the hallways and to the lack of extensive lighting. Some of the hallways preserve the original terrazo tilework on floors--others are covered with drab linoleum long scuffed beyond shine by countless generations of feet. The hallways vary in cleanliness, graffiti, and aroma, depending on the level of diligence shown by the owner, superintendent, and/or residents. The stairs serve as a kind of barometer for the degree of structural decay in the buildings. When the stairs are sturdy and level, so is the rest of the building. When the stairs are rickety, the treads broken through, the railings absent or rotted, when there are broken windows on each landing, then the basement, wiring, plumbing, steam system, and other invisible aspects are often in very poor condition. The best maintained buildings are those owned by the local housing organization or those in which the landlords live on the premises. The city-owned and absentee-landlord-owned buildings are in the worst condition.

Depending on the size of the particular building, each floor may have from two to four apartments. Each apartment has one or two reinforced doors, sometimes wooden, sometimes metal, usually with several locks. If there are two doors, one opens onto the kitchen and is the one most often used. The other usually opens onto the livingroom. Many have peep-holes. (This level of security consciousness is not uncommon among New York City residents in general). Some families have welcome mats or decorations on the doors. As the hallways are semi-public areas, these doors, not the exterior ones, are the real barriers to the outside world, and are only opened (if the knock is heard at all) when the visitor is known to the inhabitants.

Inside, most of the apartments follow the traditional railroad design common in pre-World War II flats. The rooms proceed in boxcar fashion one after the other usually with no doors in between. Curtains are used for privacy when needed. Most apartments have a kitchen (the center of family life), bathroom (often next to the kitchen for ease of plumbing), living room (home of the T.V), and one or more bedrooms which are shared by various family members. Sometimes the living-room doubles as a bedroom. Usually the bedrooms are the inner-most rooms. The bathrooms and bedrooms are very cramped in size, especially since built-in closets and cupboards are almost non-existent and valuable space is taken up by free-standing furniture. The other rooms are fairly generous in dimensions compared to those in more recently-built city apartments, and have high ceilings. Apartments range in rent from $150 a month for studios to $250 for one or two bedrooms. While these rates may appear very low compared to others in New York City, area residents actually end up paying more per footage given the overall size of the apartments (see Caplowitz 1963 for other ways in which the poor pay more).

The amount of effort exerted in decorating and furnishing the apartments depends on the financial situation of the occupants, the personal characteristics of the family groups, and the amount of commitment they have to remaining in the apartment (turn-over is fairly high and community residents are always on the lookout for better quarters). In general, the living space is made as comfortable and esthetically pleasing as possible given the realities of chipped plaster, careless paint jobs, antiquated plumbing, poor lighting, and the inconvenient physical layout.

The women (whose traditional role as homemaker shows little sign of change) for the most part take great pride in keeping things clean and appealing. Little personal touches are visible everywhere: artificial flowers, prints, mementoes from Puerto Rico, photographs, brightly colored drapes and curtains, ornate china vases and lamps, plants, religious articles, and handicrafts, to mention only a few. The amount of furniture varies, but most apartments are crowded with sofas (often covered with plastic), chairs, tables, beds, and clothes wardrobes. All of the children in our sample have T.V.s and radios in their apartments. Those with pets (small dogs, cats, birds, fish) may have special areas and facilities for them, e.g. beds, dishes, cages, and other paraphernalia.

The physical environment has certain implications, both positive and negative, for the social, educational, and linguistic development of the residents. Close living in tight quarters makes for strong bonds between family members who have to cooperate in order to survive and who are perforce aware of each other's problems and activities during every waking (and sleeping) moment. Children learn a lot about adult life and its concerns when living in a situation in which secrecy is almost impossible. They are exposed to a broad spectrum of interaction ranging from arguments to partying and decision-making to social amenities in both English and Spanish from numerous visiting relatives and friends, all of which helps inculcate in the children models for future behavior and expression.

However, privacy and quiet are often out of the question. Large families with competing work and school schedules eat at different times, go to sleep at different times. The television is often on non-stop, providing a multilingual accompaniment to family life. It is unusual to find an area set aside for study or work, and the kitchen tables or beds are used for such purposes when they are not required for their intended functions. Attention to individual children's personal or school problems is often difficult. However, the situation does not necessarily have to lead to failure. There is tremendous variation in the effect of these conditions on different children. Some get so used to their environments that they find it difficult to operate under more "ideal" circumstances. Younger children seem more impervious to tight space and noise than older ones. In every case, what appears to make the most difference is parental support and encouragement, not physical environment.

2.3 Block residents

Some 500 to 600 people make their home on this block. This (plus the existence of the community organizations mentioned earlier and the fact that many buildings are owned by area residents) makes the block somewhat unusual for East Harlem in its stability and vitality. While there is no question that the block suffers from many of the same problems of other less populated blocks in the area,the existence of a vigorous, varied population which continues to fight back and struggle on a day-to-day basis makes for a qualitative difference. Unlike many other areas of the inner city, this block is thriving and active. Former residents continue to return to the block for social interaction and entertainment even after having moved to other more comfortable areas of the city. As one prominent resident explained to us: "Este bloque es bien dulce. Todo el mundo viene y quiere chupar." (This block is real sweet. Everyone comes and wants to suckle.) Previous ethnographic, attitudinal, and linguistic studies of this block (LPTF 1982) have provided us with a considerable amount of information about the personal, social, and linguistic background of the residents.

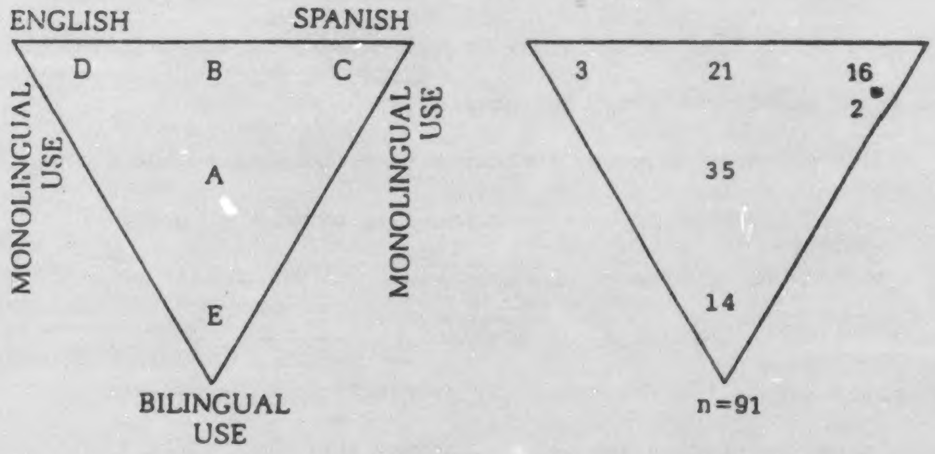
Block residents are almost all Puerto Rican, though there are also some Dominicans, Cubans, and Guatemalans, as well as a few isolated Blacks and Italians. The produce market is run by a Korean family, and the shoe repair shop is owned by Greeks. Block residents range in age from the new-born to the very aged; however, in general they are representative of the overall population of East Harlem, i.e. a very young community with the majority of residents under the age of thirty (U.S. Dept. of Commerce 1973).

Most have lived on the block or in the area for more than ten years and some for as long as 40 years; however, they are split almost evenly between those born or raised in Puerto Rico and those born or raised in New York City. Residents range from those who migrated to New York in adulthood, retaining strong emotional and familial attachments to the Island, to those who were brought to New York City in early childhood and remember their homeland but dimly. Still others were born and raised in New York and know little or nothing of Puerto Rico outside of snapshots and grandmother stories.

Block residents have different economic histories as well. Most adult males are employed, some in the community and others outside the community, primarily in the service sectors of the economy. Some are presently unemployed and seeking re-entry into the job market. Others are retired or disabled and living off pensions or social security. Some have never worked and live off public assistance of some form. Still others survive by any means possible.

This diversity of life experiences and the extensive interaction made unavoidable by the extreme population density make for a very complex socio-linguistic situation. Almost all residents have some degree of bilingual skills, reinforced by the circulatory pattern of migration between Puerto Rico and the United States, due to which there are always some monolingual speakers of Spanish in the community. Those skills have been acquired for the most part outside of formal instruction, and a wide variety of current language abilities exists within the community despite the fact that almost all residents learned Spanish as their first language. Thirty percent of the 91 residents originally interviewed report preferring Spanish, 30% report English, FIGURE 4 (Reprinted from Attinasi 1979:455)

Reported Use Triangle, in model and with absolute number for the sample.


ENGLISH
SPANISH
D
B
C
A
E
MONOLINGUAL USE
MONOLINGUAL USE
BILINGUAL USE
3
21
16
2*
35
14
n=91

A. Bilingual, some switching
B. Bilingual, little switching
C. Spanish Monolingual
D. English Monolingual
E. Bilingual Code-switchers

---

*Two more report some bilingual usage, but choose Spanish over English, i.e., they do not report to use English. These should be included with the Spanish monolinguals, with qualification.

and 40% report equal comfort/ability in both languages. Figure 4 illustrates the broad spectrum of possibilities reported by the community, ranging from virtual Spanish monolingualism at one extreme to virtual English monolingualism at the other, with various degrees of bilingual competence in between. Alternation among varieties is very common, and, in fact, even typical of interaction within this bilingual community where no domain requires the exclusive use of any particular variety (Pedraza 1981). In other words there appears to be no strict functional separation of varieties according to context (although individual speakers may be accomodated to linguistically because of monolingualism, age, or status).

Our research thus far indicates that there is an increasing shift toward English preference (especially among the young) though not a corresponding loss of Spanish. In fact, there is some evidence that a cycle of language usage operates within this community. While most third generation Puerto Ricans prefer English, they appear to resuscitate the Spanish learned in infancy when they enter into young adult roles. This, added to the circular migration between Puerto Rico and New York City and to the patterns of respeto (respect) requiring accomodation to Spanish-dominant or monolingual speakers, suggests the maintenance of bilingualism within the community for some time to come. Bilingual education programs may also play a role in the perpetuation of these community-wide bilingual skills.

The preceding sections represent only a cursory description of the adult community and language trends within it. More detailed information may be found in Attinasi (1979), Language Policy Task Force (1980, 1982), and Pedraza (1981). We return to the issue of adult language use and its relation to that of their children in Chapter 3, where intergenerational comparisons based on ethnographic data will be drawn, as well as in Chapters 6,7, and 8 where we present the results of quantitative sociolinguistic analyses of linguistic phenomena across generations of speakers. We turn in the next section to the school and its position within the larger community.

3.0 The School

In this section we examine the school and its programs (particularly the bilingual program) and their role in the language socialization of the children in our sample. In order to understand the present conditions in the school, we first trace the development of the treatment of the Puerto Rican child in the educational system of New York City, in particular, in the district of East Harlem. We then describe the school itself - its internal history, physical plant, student and teacher populations, and bilingual program.

3.1 The education of the Puerto Rican child in New York City

There was little effort made to address the special educational needs of the rapidly growing Puerto Rican population in the city until the publication in 1958 of the Puerto Rican Study. This study, sponsored by Columbia University, examined the linguistic and academic problems of Puerto Rican children in the public school system and concluded that non-English speaking children would eventually learn more English if not put into special classes. The study maintained that Puerto Ricans in New York City would be assimilated by the third generation and recommended that the public schools facilitate and accelerate this assimilation through extensive ESL training. While auxiliary personnel with bilingual skills might be helpful in purely advisory liaison roles; the study concluded that classroom instruction in Spanish was potentially harmful.

This refusal to consider education in the dominant language of the child was not surprising. New York City, unlike many other parts of the country, had no real history of bilingual public schooling with the exception of some experimental Yiddish schools , and during the 1920's, strict English-only rules were instituted in the public schools, making bilingual education impossible.

During the period from 1957 to 1967, there was a very slow and gradual move toward consideration of bilingual education as a possibility for Puerto Rican and other children with non-English native languages though English as a Second Language techniques predominated. In 1963, after the establishment of federally-funded bilingual programs for Cuban immigrants in Dade County, Florida, Superintendent Calvin Gross urged a bilingual/bicultural approach to education for New York City, and in 1964 a study was carried out examining the effects of bilingual instruction in an experimental science program at the junior high school level. The study indicated that language skills were transferable and that subject content mastery was enhanced by instruction in the mother tongue. However, due to the lack of general acceptance of bilingual education as a pedagogical philosophy, the pilot program was expanded only modestly.

In 1965, the Board of Education finally issued a policy statement advocating the use of bilingual instruction, and in 1967 Superintendent Bernard Donovan testified on behalf of bilingual education at Congressional hearings on proposed Title VII legislation. In 1968, the first public bilingual school (PS 25) was established by Hernan LaFontaine in District 7 in the Bronx. The objective of the school was to develop functional bilingualism through the progressive addition of increasing amounts of the second language until a 50-50 instructional time split was achieved. Soon after experimental programs were initiated in other areas of New York City, in both public and alternative schools (e.g. La Escuelita in East Harlem).[5] In addition, the city received $1 million of Title I funds to be used for bilingual staff recruitment and training.

It was not until the mobilization of the Puerto Rican community around educational issues (manifested in public meetings and proposal writing), however, that any serious effort was made on the part of the school system to implement a truly bilingual education policy. Bilingual programs in Florida and the Southwest had successfully discredited the English immersion approach; the federal government had authorized monies for Title VII programs nation-wide; and the Puerto Rican community in New York City refused to accept the Board of Education's weak excuses and lack of genuine commitment to the improvement of existing bilingual programs (in five schools by then) and the development of further quality programs throughout the city.

The Puerto Rican Forum was one of the organizations which began an in-depth probe into the situation of Puerto Rican children in the public schools. In 1970, it found that only 27% of the more than 100,000 children estimated to need bilingual instruction in the 97 schools examined were actually receiving it (Greenspan 1970). These findings were later reinforced by similar conclusions drawn by the office of Senator Jacob Javits in 1971 and by the New York State Fleishman Commission in 1972.

As of 1971, 37 schools in the city had bilingual programs. These bilingual programs were totally dependent on the discretion and interest of the individual principals, and children were permitted to stay in the programs only one year. Most programs were not comprehensive in nature. Spanish was used mainly to translate English lessons, and ESL instruction lacked any consistent approach. Puerto Rican children continued to have the lowest reading scores in the city and the highest drop-out and truancy rates (Jenkins 1971).

In late 1972, ASPIRA, in conjunction with the Community Agency for Legal Services (CALS) and somewhat later the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF), launched a suit demanding the development and implementation of a comprehensive bilingual education plan for New York public schools.[6] The Board of Education attempted in various ways to get the suit dismissed, but was ordered in April of 1974 to develop a plan in conjunction with ASPIRA. By August of the same year (despite further attempts to avoid compliance on the part of the Board), the court issued a consent decree, and in October, pilot schools were identified for program implementation. As a result of the suit, 60,000 children were placed in bilingual programs.[7]

The consent decree plan mandates a curriculum based on other-tongue language arts and reading, bicultural instruction, content areas in both languages, and English as a Second Language training. It represents the first legitimate attempt to meet the needs of non-English speaking children throughout the city; however, the plan is limited to "English deficient" children (thus removing the possibility of including Blacks and other English speakers who wish to become bilingual). It has relied upon a hastily constructed and much criticized test (the Language Aptitude

Battery) for program placement and has not been consistently well-implemented.

ASPIRA has maintained a monitoring role over the program[8] and in 1976 filed contempt charges against the Board of Education for failure to fully comply with the consent decree. Currently, further legal action is pending with regard to recent moves to implement minimum competency exams in New York City which will have a decided effect upon the Puerto Rican and other minority communitites.[9]

Almost simultaneous with the ASPIRA suit was a statement by the Board of Regents of New York State supporting the use of bilingual education in schools statewide:

> In any case, where there are approximately 10 or more children of limited English-speaking ability who speak the same language and are of approximately the same age and level of educational attainment, every effort should be made to develop a bilingual rather than second language program. (quoted in Santiago 1977:9)

And in 1975, Chancellor Irving Anker publicly reiterated the Board's commitment to bilingual education in New York City. Much of this positive attitude was due to the federal affirmation of bilingual education which in turn had been intensely sensitive to court decisions like that in Lau v. Nichols and state bilingual statutes like those of Massachusetts and Texas.[10]

This commitment, though limited in comparison to that of other cities, has been significant. As of June 30, 1978, the Board of Education, according to its internal memos, was responsible for the management and funding of 173 bilingual programs at 615 sites servicing more than 76,000 pupils. Approximately $37 million were budgeted, coming primarily from federal ESEA Title I (36 programs) and Title VII (67 programs at $31 million), as well as funds from the ESAA federal Impact Aid program, New York State sources, ESEA Title IV mini-grants, and various professional development and refugee assistance acts. Considerable funding also comes via state and district sources. Some programs function with little or no federal monies.

Of the students served by these city-wide programs 80% (61,000) are Spanish-speaking. Other languages encountered within the student population according to the Board of Education are Asian Indian (sic), Arabic, Chinese, Creole, French, French Haitian, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Korean, Mohawk, Pakistani, Russian, Tagalog, Turkish, Vietnamese, and Yiddish, but full-fledged programs range in coverage from kindergarten through twelfth grade with the great majority at the elementary and intermediate levels.

3.2 Education at the district level

East Harlem is at present the seventh smallest school district in the city, providing instruction for less than 12,000 students (2000 of whom live outside the area) and decreasing steadily every year due to the difficult housing situation in the area previously mentioned. The ethnic composition of the student body is approximately 60-65% Hispanic, 35-40% Black, and 1-2% other, according to the Superintendent.[11] Half of the 20 schools in the district are run by Puerto Rican principals, who represent a quarter of the Puerto Rican principals in the entire city.

The district, long marked by low levels of academic achievement, has made great strides in the past decade, rising from the very bottom of the list of districts in terms of reading scores to a position of 22nd out of 32 districts, higher than any other predominantly Hispanic district.

One sixth of the children in the district are enrolled in bilingual programs.[12] The history of these programs begins with the formation of the district under the decentralization law of 1969 which shifted the responsibility and control of the elementary and junior high schools from the Central Board to the individual school boards. However, it should be made clear that East Harlem has long been an area in which Puerto Ricans predominated, and bilingual education as a possible solution to the educational problems of children in the areas was considered and proposed as early as 1965 when bilingual programs were first established in Dade County, Florida.

The struggle for decentralization was particularly fierce in East Harlem as it became clear that the formation of a new district run from within would result in unprecedented political power which could help advance and develop the area as a whole. This was also the case for bilingual education which aimed at providing the community with academic services and opportunities for involvement in the educational process never before possible, while simultaneously creating a number of jobs within the Puerto Rican community. Without a doubt, bilingual education was on the agenda of every Puerto Rican school board member or politician, and a great deal of early support came from the community corporation and other organizations which saw bilingual education as a source of patronage, political control and ethnic cohesion, as well as pedagogical reform.

The first venture (though short lived) into bilingual education in the district was the Escuela Infantil which (after its first six months) was located on the block under study in this report. This alternative pre-school was created in 1969, the result of a proposal written by community members and the present superintendent of the district (then the sole Puerto Rican member of the Central Board).[13] It was intended as a means of establishing a relationship with the community in an educational setting in order to work for the development of the children before their entry into the public schools.

The school experimented with many alternative teaching techniques (open classrooms, team teaching, individualized instruction, etc.). Bilingual education as a pedagogical approach evolved naturally from the school's conviction that instruction had to begin where the children and the community were. Unfortunately, the school did not live to fulfill its promise, and bilingual education had to wait several years for rebirth.

Two experimental programs were established in the district in 1973: a bilingual-bicultural mini-school at the elementary school level, funded through Title VII and N.Y.S. Chapter 720, and a bilingual mini-school at the junior high level funded through Title VII. These served as models for bilingual education in the district, and other programs soon developed, including a Title I bilingual program, a Title VII bilingual skills consortium, a tax levy program in bilingual school and community relations, and a Higher Education Act, Title V-B bilingual teacher corps.

In June of 1974 (before the Aspira Consent Decree was signed), the district office, under the leadership of a former bilingual teacher and principal who now directs the city bilingual education office, began to organize a centralized system of bilingual instruction and support services from the largely independent and unorganized programs already in existence in the district. Ten bilingual centers were established as semi-autonomous units headed by directors and governed loosely by the district bilingual office. These centers were located throughout the district so as to reach as many children as possible in grades K-9.

The overall philosophy of the district plan is to utilize a maintenance approach to educate the children throughout their school careers to be bilingual and bicultural as well as economically, socially, and politically able to function effectively in U.S. society.

The centers vary considerably in their actual approach and internal structure and can best be viewed as eclectic, a fact which makes for both flexibility and some disorganization throughout the district. However, all provide a basic curriculum paralleling that of the English monolingual programs, including English as a Second Language, Spanish Language Arts, Spanish as a Second Language, English Language Arts, Hispanic History and Culture in addition to traditional subject matter (math, science, social studies, art, music, and physical education) taught in the child's dominant language. Certain centers also have special programs focusing on reading, learning disabilities, Spanish language development, and science. One offers a curriculum organized around media arts, while another integrates the visual, fine, and performing arts into the regular bilingual curriculum.

Let us now turn to the school which serves the community under investigation here.

3.3 The school site

3.3.1 A brief history

The school has had a rocky past. Before 1974 it was administered by a non-Hispanic principal who did not establish strong lines of authority and tended to allow the school to govern itself. The present Puerto Rican principal was brought in during a period of "house cleaning" when the district office was critically evaluating the performance of its administrators, removing incompetent principals, and filling their places and those of retirees with qualified Hispanics.

The new principal was faced with an extremely disorganized school in which there was little accountability. He began structuring distinct programs, hiring additional personnel, replacing ineffectual staff, and opening up the school to the community. Just when the situation was becoming controllable, and reading scores were improving, the school boundary lines were redrawn in the third year of his tenure at the school. There was a considerable shift in student population, with some students going off to another location and still others coming in new to the school. Much of the organization of the school had to begin anew.

In 1977, the school initiated a bilingual program which became one of the district's bilingual centers. The program acted as a cluster school and serviced students from several schools in the area, again altering the student population of the school. This change, along with the usual problems which accompany the implementation of a new program, resulted in a drop in school reading scores. According to the list printed in the New York Times (March 8,1979, p. B4), in 1978 the school ranked 479th out of 634 schools city-wide, and only

28.5% of the students tested on or above grade level in English reading.[14]

This low ranking and drop in scores attracted the attention of the Special Assistant to the Chancellor of Education, Ronald Edmonds, who was conducting a federally-funded study of urban schools. A member of his "ethnographic" research team was present at the school for a short time during the spring semester of 1979, precisely when we were also conducting observations. The observer assessed the school negatively and pronounced it to have a serious discipline problem. Unfortunately, there was no consideration of the special history of the school nor the numerous problems it had managed to overcome or innovations it had been able to implement. Since the time of that evaluation, the school's scores have steadily improved each year.

Another attack (almost fatal) on the school came in 1980, this time from the Mayor's office, which was engaged in making budget slashes, particularly in education. Part of this money-saving campaign was the closing of schools considered to be "under utilized." Due to some administrative error, the school did not receive the necessary forms to indicate its level of facilities utilization and was erroneously classified with those schools slated to be terminated.[15] This was not made known to the school or district authorities until they saw the list printed in the Times. An immediate flurry of activity ensued which resulted in a clarification of the matter and a removal of the school from the list.

Such problems have taken their toll on the school administration, but even more trying are the constant budget cuts and staff reductions which plague all New York City schools at this time. While the principal and his staff are attempting to expand the school offerings and the quality of instruction, they have to deal with the realities of an ever-shrinking staff and an increasing burden on those who remain.

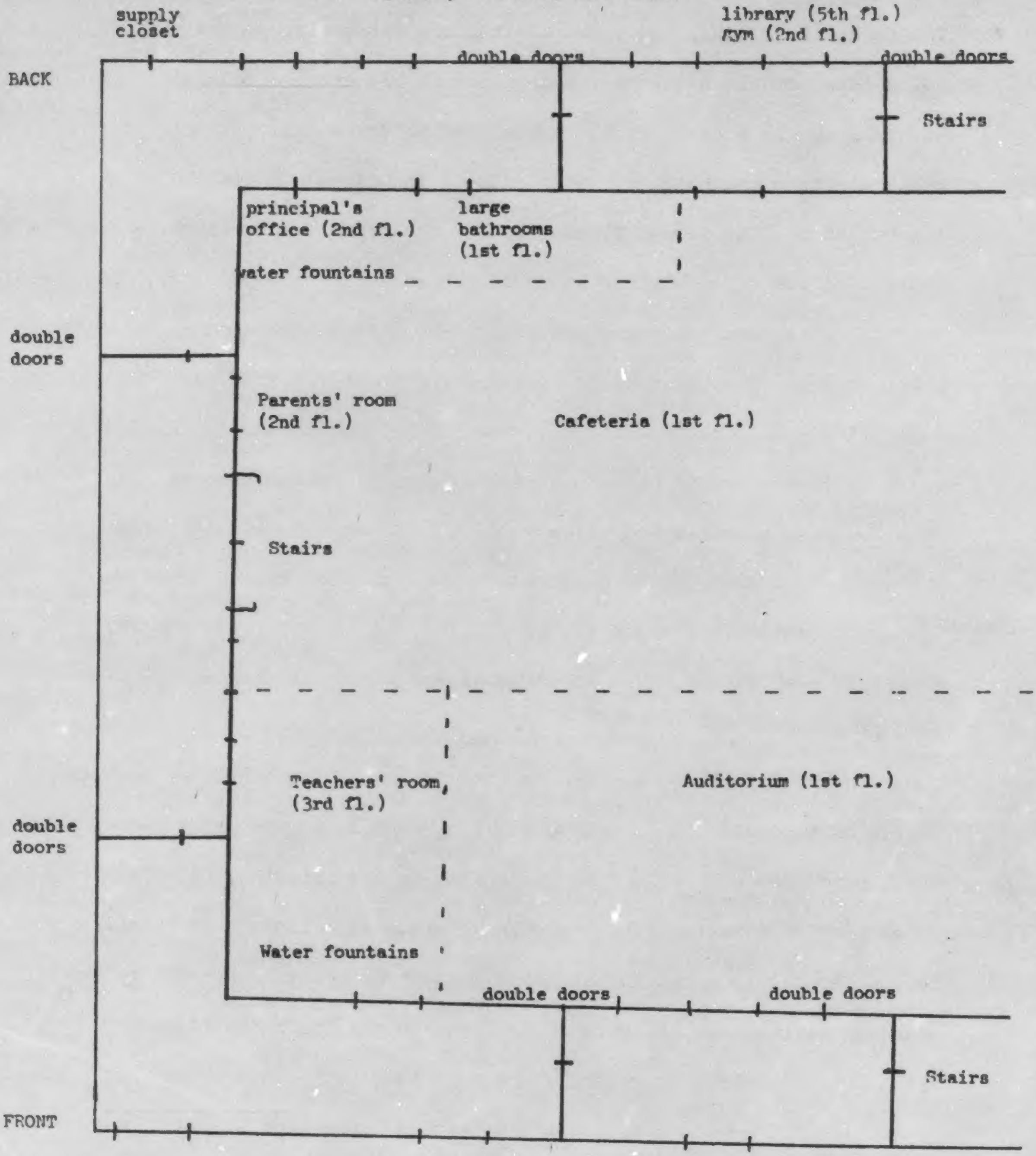
3.3.2 The physical plant

The school building was constructed in 1923, and is one of the older existing schools in New York City. It is an architecturally unimaginative six-story rectangle made of brick with very little exterior decoration. The building from front to back spans a block between streets and in width covers half an avenue block if the playground is included. Its front and back doors face onto primarily residential streets. The fenced-off playground looks out onto an avenue of small shops and busy traffic. Additional play space comes from the housing project adjoining the school immediately to the left which has a small fenced-off playground complete with equipment and benches (see Figure 3).

The interior of the school is rather depressing despite efforts on the part of the staff to cheer it up with numerous well-decorated bulletin boards. Much of the negative impression comes from the heavy impassiveness of the old-fashioned high ceilings and windows, drab walls, dark doors, revealed pipes and vents, ancient plumbing, and three sets of caged-in staircases which are necessary due to the very vertical nature of the building.

Each floor with the exception of the first has about 15 rooms plus a bathroom (which are located on alternate floors for boys and girls).

FIGURE 5 SCHOOL FLOOR PLAN


supply closet
library (5th fl.)
gym (2nd fl.)
BACK
double doors
double doors
Stairs
principal's office (2nd fl.)
large bathrooms (1st fl.)
water fountains
double doors
Parents' room (2nd fl.)
Cafeteria (1st fl.)
Stairs
Teachers' room, (3rd fl.)
Auditorium (1st fl.)
double doors
Water fountains
double doors
double doors
Stairs
FRONT

The first floor consists of the auditorium, cafeteria, general office, and a large double bathroom. Each floor is broken up into small sections by six sets of double doors. Other doors seal off the staircase from the hallway. This adds to the closed in feeling of the building. The second floor contains the principal's office, a medical office (though there is no full-time nurse or physician), the Parents' Room, and two rooms converted into a small gym used by the lower grades. The third floor contains the Teachers' Room, and the fifth floor contains the library. The sixth floor is the top roof which is fenced-off to provide a playing area but which has not been used for some time because of lack of maintenance. No classes are presently held there. The different grades are distributed among the floors according to the age of the children; youngest on low floors, oldest on high floors. The monolingual and bilingual classes are side by side.

The actual classrooms are rectangular with blackboards or bulletin boards on two walls, and closets and long windows on the other two walls. (Because of the sunken roof in the middle of the building, all classrooms whether interior or exterior have windows). Individual teachers have attempted to alter the standard pattern by using bookcases, tables, standing blackboards, file cabinets, etc. to partition the classroom space into alcoves. In general, the more imaginative classrooms are at the lower grade levels, where the teachers make special efforts to appeal to the children's visual and perceptual senses through colorful decorations and displays. In these classes, play and reading nooks are common. Desks or tables are arranged in clusters which are used competitively by the teachers to encourage task completion or good behavior.

Some teachers incorporate their personal interests or skills into the decor and structure of the classroom. (For example, one teacher whose special forte is science keeps small animals and set-ups for experiments in the rear for children to work with.) Teachers of the lower grades also tend to assign work in different areas of the room. The use of para-professionals (no longer possible given budget cuts) or student-teachers further ensures a more child-centered setting The upper grade classes are far more traditional in nature and teacher-centered with straight lines of desks, student work on the walls, and limited decoration. Of course, this, too, is variable depending on the individual teacher involved. In general, the classes for gifted children tend to be more like the lower grade classes in their emphasis on imaginative decor and scattered work islands within the classroom.

3.3.3 The school population

There are approximately 650 children in the school. About 87% of these are Puerto Rican or other Hispanic and the remainder are Black, with perhaps one or two children of other backgrounds. There are 25 teachers, not including several part-time specialists for music and reading, and several para-professionals, some of whom are also parents of students in the school. At any given time there are also usually a few student-teachers.

The school is run by a Puerto Rican male principal and non-Hispanic female assistant principal, who together coordinate the various programs within the school into a cohesive body, supervise the staff, perform most of the public relations tasks of the school, discipline children, cover the lunchroom and playground at midday, and even carry out occasional instructional functions. Basic administrative tasks (attendance, recordkeeping, registration, etc.) are handled by a small staff in the general office. The bilingual program has its own (Puerto Rican) coordinator, whose function is to organize the bilingual classes around the general program policies, supervise the staff and their work plans, serve as master teacher and resource for the program, test and place children in the program, and educate parents as to the nature of the bilingual program.

When we began our observation, the bilingual program had 13 personnel (nine classroom teachers, two student teachers, one paraprofessional, and the coordinator), all of whom are Puerto Rican, with the exception of one Spaniard and one Argentinian. About 270 (42%) of the school's students are enrolled in the bilingual program, again mostly Puerto Rican with some Dominican, Ecuadorian, and Guatemalan children. At the onset of our study, there were ten bilingual classes, one in each of grades K-6 plus three bridge classes (grades 1-2, 3-4, 5-6). The situation is essentially the same now. In addition, there is a bilingual learning disabilities program (Project BUILD) funded by Title VII, which is open to all grades.

The English monolingual program contains about 380 children and presently covers kindergarten through eighth grade (the upper two grades were added one at a time during the last two years). There are 16 English-only classes, the lowest and the highest grades having only one class per grade but the intermediate grades being composed of two or more different classes. In addition, there is special instruction for gifted children (IGC) and a reading laboratory (Star Lab), both for grades 4-6. There are no IGC classes for the bilingual program, nor are there any 7th or 8th grade bilingual classes. There are some attempts being made to obtain a reading laboratory which would focus on Spanish. At this time, the Star Lab is attended by all upper graders in bilingual and monolingual classes, and there are bilingual personnel in the lab to help those students not yet proficient in English.

Classes range in size from 20-35 children, except for the gym, music, and media classes which span several grades or several classes in a grade. Monolingual and bilingual classes have lunch, music, gym, and media classes together, which would ostensibly provide opportunities for the children to communicate with each other.

Parents and community people are also visible at the school. There is a kitchen staff of about half a dozen, most from the general area though not necessarily the neighborhood. The maintenance crew is Puerto Rican and for the most part live in El Barrio. These plant workers take an active interest in the children and often take it upon themselves to correct or guide them. The children are instructed to treat the staff workers with the same respect given a teacher or the principal.

Parents often congregate in different areas of the school building and grounds, particularly at lunchtime and at dismissal time. Especially in the lower grades, parents bring the children to school, check on them during the day, and bring them home in the afternoon. There are no overt restrictions on their presence in the school building, and they can be found in the Parents Room, the halls, the lunchroom, and the playground.[15]

3.3.4 The bilingual program

The bilingual program began in 1977 with a bilingual kindergarten and first grade, and pull-out classes for the second through the sixth grades. It presently provides "maintenance" bilingual education for grades K-6. Both languages are developed and maintained throughout the elementary school curriculum for those children who are covered by the Aspira consent decree; in other words, for those children who score below the 20th percentile in English and higher in Spanish than English on the Language Assessment Battery used by the district for placement in bilingual programs.

The program is based on the principle that it is vital to teach skills first in the native language and then effect a gradual transfer of these skills into English while still maintaining the skills in the mother tongue. Thus, in kindergarten and first grade, the children receive all instruction in Spanish and one period of E.S.L. Some of the more advanced children begin learning to read in English as well. The remainder wait until the third grade to begin English reading skills. For the third grade still more English is added so that most content areas are taught in both languages, and the English classes themselves are directed toward developing literate as well as oral skills. Throughout the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades, the role of English in the classroom grows until it becomes the base language and Spanish is used to further clarify and supplement the curriculum, with the exception of Spanish Language Arts classes which are specifically intended to further develop Spanish literate skills.[17] Special classes like science lab, library, gym, and media are carried out in English. Efforts are presently being made to provide a special reading lab in

TABLE 1

STRUCTURE OF BILINGUAL PROGRAM

Kindergarten 1st grade	ESL						English only
							both languages
	Daily notices	Reading	Math	Penmanship	Social Studies	Science	Spanish only
2nd grade	ESL	Reading					E
	Penmanship	Science					B
	Daily Notices	Reading	Math	Social Studies			S
3rd grade	Reading-Language Arts	Star Lab					E
	Math	Penmanship	Social Studies	Science	more Sp. than Eng.		B
	Reading-Language Arts						S
4th - 6th grades	Reading-Language Arts	Penmanship	Star Lab	Library	Gym	Media	E
	Math	Spelling	Social Studies	Science	more Eng. than Sp.		B
	Reading-Language Arts						S

Spanish like the one existing for English. Any new arrivals from Puerto Rico are given intensive E.S.L. training and incorporated into the bilingual classes (see Table 1 for the program break-down).

The program is generally regarded as a successful one, although this may not be readily apparent from an examination of the English reading test scores (see section 3.3.1). Both the principal and the bilingual coordinator feel that the children are benefitting from the program and point with pride to the fact that the children in the bilingual program are almost all on grade level in Spanish and generally only a year behind in English. They also point to improved attitudes and decreased absenteeism since the inception of the program. Parental response has also been very positive; although the administrators note that there is some tendency on the part of parents who have problems with their children to complain or threaten to withdraw the children from the program instead of trying to solve the problem within the program (this is dealt with in greater detail in the chapter on language attitudes).

The biggest problems within the program as seen by the coordinator involve the restrictions of the Aspira consent decree, the inadequacies of the Language Assessment Battery as a placement instrument, the need to share facilities with the English-only classes, the frequent changes in personnel, and the difficulties of scheduling. We will treat each in turn.

Under the consent decree, it is unlikely that children who are proficient in English would be allowed in a bilingual program unless all the so-called "LAB children" were accommodated first. Because of the increasingly drastic city-wide cuts in education, there is not always enough room even for those children most in need, and furnishing bilingual classes for all who desire them could deplete the English-only classes and require an increase in teaching staff in order to avoid overloading the bilingual classes.[18] The coordinator admits that there are children in the monolingual classes who don't really understand enough English to be there. She stresses, however, that this misplacement is kept at a minimum and only occurs when a number of factors coincide such as late registration, parental wishes, borderline LAB scores, loss of instructional lines through cutbacks, and overcrowding in classrooms, among others.

The dissatisfaction with the Language Assessment Battery is not limited to this school--we have indications from teachers throughout the district as well as the personnel in the Office of Bilingual Education that the test does not serve its intended function. The present research also indicates that it is at best an inadequate means of measuring language 'dominance'. It was hastily constructed at the time of the Aspira law suit and has not held up well in practice. In addition, the children have memorized the test from having seen it year after year, a fact which further lessens its diagnostic potential. (The test will be examined in further detail in Chapter 5).

The problem of sharing facilities with English-only classes is a thorny one in that it brings up the question of segregation. While it would undoubtedly make the administration of the bilingual program easier if the program were somehow isolated from the monolingual program (on a separate floor as the coordinator has suggested, or even a separate building as has been attempted in some areas), there is no legitimate justification for the segregation of students in the monolingual and bilingual classes which would occur (and which arguably already exists). An alternative, of course, would be to convert the entire school into a bilingual center as was done with another school in the district. Such a change is unlikely to occur given the bad press faced by bilingual education as a whole, the increasing reluctance among legislators to extend program funding, the opposition of the teachers' unions who see this as a threat to the job opportunities of monolingual teachers, and the overall economic crisis in education in the city, not to mention the dramatic movement of English dominant children this would entail.

The other two problems mentioned are closely related and are at issue in the English-only classes as well as the bilingual classes. Because of the ever-decreasing teaching staff and the need to comply with the American Federation of Teachers' contract requiring a daily 45 minute preparation period for each classroom teacher, there is a great deal of shifting of the children from one area to another, or from one teacher to another, as well as a lot of clustering of classes into large groups for instruction. There are clearly some benefits to such procedures (e.g. exposing children to different types of materials and different styles of teaching, as well as integrating the bilingual and monolingual classes); however, the disadvantages may well outweigh the advantages. Both our observations and statements by teachers and students indicate that a substantial amount of time is spent in moving classes through the halls and up and down the staircases. Once the children arrive at their destinations, there is more time lost in settling down for work. The breaks are disruptive in their frequency.

A relatively small proportion of each day appears to be spent on instruction. As the bilingual coordinator pointed out, this tends to add to any instability and unsettledness which may already exist in the lives of these children.

A final problem is that of evaluation of the bilingual program. As mentioned earlier, the school administration does not place much credence in the reading scores as a measure of program success. There are many factors involved which bring scores down and make the situation appear worse than it actually is. To begin with, given the gradual transfer design of the maintenance program, the English reading scores of the bilingual children cannot possibly be compared to the monolingual norm until relatively late in the program. In other words, the real results come in the long-term. This is understandably difficult for many people (especially parents) to deal with, since there is, of course, no guarantee of a happy outcome after waiting until the later grades for positive results.

A child may also have learning problems which the bilingual program may not be equipped to handle. In fact, the coordinator indicates that some of the bilingual children later end up being assigned to learning disability classes and withdraw from the program. She did not indicate why this occurred, but one hypothesis put forth by several teachers is that perhaps bilingual classes are used as repositories for children who can't make it in English-only classes for a variety of reasons, language sometimes only a minor one. There is no question but that such withdrawals (or misplacements) make evaluation of program success even more difficult.

The evaluation problem is further exacerbated by the mobility of the children. Both the circular migration of the children between New York and Puerto Rico and the frequency of movement to other neighborhoods and even other boroughs make for a constantly shifting student population which is very difficult to assess. The former has not been much of a problem at this school. As the assistant principal pointed out, most of the children were born in New York City and few have returned to Puerto Rico (this is borne out in our sample). Such migration does occur (as witnessed by the complaints of some of the teachers about the discontinuity of education for some of their children); however, its effects have been far outweighed by the internal migration of the children to the Bronx and the Lower East Side as their families' financial standings rise and fall.

One additional problem not emphasized by the bilingual program coordinator but often mentioned by the teachers themselves is that of materials. Given the severe lack of adequate (and affordable) textbooks and instructional materials in Spanish in this country, there is considerable dependence on materials developed in Spain or Mexico (when available) and on "home-made" materials which can vary greatly in quality and appropriateness. This problem is also directly linked to the economic situation within the city as difficulties in acquiring materials are not exclusive to bilingual programs.

Now that we have some idea of the environments in which the children exist, let us turn to the study proper.

Notes

1. The very earliest Puerto Rican settlement, however, was in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, where Puerto Ricans first arrived in the late 1800's.

2. Due to the chronic undercount of this and other minority communities, these and other census figures given here are actually far short of the actual numbers, which have been estimated at at least one and one half million for the New York City metropolitan area alone (Pedraza, personal communication).

3. For a closer look at the socio economic conditions in East Harlem, see Johnson 1974.

4. In East Harlem, the city councilman, state senator, congressman, and assemblyman are all Hispanic, in addition to the school district superintendent and most of the local school board.

5. The early bilingual programs were experimental in many other ways in addition to language instruction, e.g. open classrooms, non-graded groups, peer teaching, Gattegno reading method, cluster teaching, etc., most of which have lapsed since the Aspira Consent Decree, with the exception of the last.

6. For a detailed account of the development of the Aspira suit and eventual consent decree, see Santiago (1977). See Johnson (1975) for a report of the Community Service Society of New York's monitoring efforts and observations in the pilot schools.

7. It should be noted that by 1974, the New York City Board of Education estimated that there were more than 130,000 children requiring bilingual instruction (N.Y.C. Board of Education Budget Estimate 1974-75).

8. Although in reality most of the responsibility for monitoring the programs was left to the Office of Bilingual Education under Hernán LaFontaine. Because of this responsibility, the Office of Bilingual Education was unable to go forward with many of the innovations and programs originally envisioned. Only now with some stabilization of the consent decree programs and their administration, is OBE under Awilda Orta beginning to concentrate on other aspects of bilingual education.

9. The issue of the minimum competency exam is a complex one. On the one hand, it can be expected to impact heavily upon minority communities who for various reasons have not received adequate instructional preparation. It will hit hardest in areas in which languages other than English are utilized in

the classroom, as there are no provisions to measure bilingual competence or to take into account the different stages of English language development in many bilingual students. The competency exam does exact a certain kind of accountability which is crucial if minority communities are ever to enjoy the advantages afforded other groups via the educational process. However, we must question whether this accountability is merely statistical or truly educational and on whose shoulders it falls - those of the children, who are already victimized in many subtle ways, or those of the school system and the teachers, who are responsible for educating those children.

10. See Schneider 1976, National Puerto Rican Task Force on Educational Policy 1977, 1978, and Pousada 1979 for more in-depth accounts of the development of bilingual education legislation and litigation across the country.

11. 52% Hispanic, 32% Black, and 7-8% other according to the district bilingual office.

12. According to the Aspira Consent Decree which regulates placement in bilingual programs, this is approximately the "correct" number of students that should be educated bilingually. However, teachers and administrators are quick to point out that there exist students who should be in the program and yet are not.

13. Much of the following is taken from interviews with the superintendent and other officials in the district office of education.

14. However dismal these scores may appear, they compare favorably with those of 1974 when only about 12% of the students were on or above grade level.

15. While the school has over recent years indeed decreased in student population, it is currently on the upswing, and enrollment is expected to return to earlier levels and perhaps exceed them. Much of the decrease was due to the decay and abandonment of several blocks in the neighborhood. With plans to rehabilitate those blocks on the part of the local housing association, there are some indications that enrollment will go up.

16. For more details on the extent and effect of parental involvement in the educational process, see Pousada (forth-coming).

17. It should be noted that only those children in our sample who received bilingual education at some point in their lives are able to read and write in Spanish.

18. This is not the case in all the schools in the district. A nearby school which has a higher percentage of Black enrollment maintains an open-door policy in its bilingual program, and English dominant or English monolingual children are enrolled.

References

Attinasi, J. 1979. Language Attitudes in a New York Puerto Rican Community. In R. Padilla (ed.). Ethnoperspectives in bilingual education research: Bilingual education and public policy in the United States. Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University, 408-461.

Board of Education, City of New York. 1958. Summary of recommendations made by the Puerto Rican Study for the program in New York City schools. Mimeo.

________________________________. 1965. Excellence for the schools of New York City. Statement of policy.

________________________________. 1974. District bilingual programs. Mimeo.

________________________________. 1978. Bilingual/ESL program progress report. (Office of Funded Programs).

________________________________. 1979. Directory of New York City bilingual programs, FY 1978-79. (Division of Educational Planning and Support. Center for Bilingual Education).

Caplowitz, Theodore. 1963. The poor pay more:Consumer practices of low-income families. New York. The Free Press.

Greenspan, Richard. 1970. "The education of the Puerto Rican Child." Unpublished report for the Puerto Rican Forum.

Hosay, P. 1977. The Puerto Rican experience. Five ethnic groups in New York City: A 200 year survey. New York: Board of Education, 40-48.

Jacob, E. 1977. The influence of culture and environment on cognition: A case study in a Puerto Rican town. Ph.D. thesis. University of Pennsylvania.

Jenkins, M. 1971. Bilingual education in New York City. (Board of Education ms.).

Johnson, E. 1975. Report on bilingual pilot schools in New York City. A study of a court ordered program for pupils with English language difficulty. New York: Committee on Education, Department of Public Affairs.

Johnson, L. (ed.). 1974. The people of East Harlem: The needs of the community and the resources for meeting them. New York: Mount Sinai School of Medicine.

Language Policy Task Force. 1980. Social dimensions of language use in East Harlem. Working paper #7. Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos. CUNY.

Language Policy Task Force. 1982. Bilingualism and bilingual education in a Puerto Rican community. Final report to Ford Foundation.

National Puerto Rican Task Force on Educational Policy. 1977. Toward a language policy for Puerto Ricans in the United States: An agenda for a community in movement. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos.

____. 1978. Law and bilingual education: A manual for the community. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos.

New York State Commission on Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education. (Fleischman Commission Report). 1972.

Pedraza, P. 1981. Ethnographic observations of language use in El Barrio. Manuscript.

Pousada, A. 1979. Bilingual education in the U.S. Journal of Communication 29:2, 84-92.

__________. Forthcoming. Community participation in bilingual education: The Puerto Rican community of East Harlem. Ph.D. thesis. University of Pennsylvania.

The Puerto Rican Study (1953-1957: A report on the education and adjustment of Puerto Rican pupils in the public schools of the city of New York. 1972. (J. Cayce Morrison, director). New York: Oriole Editions. (first published in 1958 by Board of Education).

Santiago, I. 1977. Aspira versus Board of Education of City of New York: A history. New York. Aspira.

Schneider, S. 1976. Revolution, reaction, reform? The 1974 Bilingual Education Act. New York: Las Americas Press.

Stewart, D. 1972. A short history of East Harlem. New York: Museum of the City of New York.

U. S. Department of Commerce. Social and Economic Statistics Administration. Bureau of the Census. 1973. Publication PC (2)-1E.

CHAPTER THREE--ETHNOGRAPHY

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold; one aim being to utilize ethnographic techniques to provide the basic understanding of the community and its day-to-day activities and concerns necessary for further analysis of the linguistic situation. The other is to exemplify the use of ethnographic research as an analytical tool in the selection of meaningful units for study via other means and in the furnishing of kinds of data and analysis which significantly differ from and complement those of the attitudinal and sociolinguistic portions of the study.

The chapter is organized into six basic sections, each contributing to the detailed depiction of the complex social and linguistic setting in which these Hispanic children and their families function in El Barrio of East Harlem. Section 2 traces the development of the ethnographic approach to the study of language and education and explains why this approach (in conjunction with the attitudinal and sociolinguistic studies) was considered indispensable to the project at hand. Section 3 reviews the methodological bases of the research and presents the data collection strategies.

In Section 4 we first present the children and examine their general trends of language use, position within the community, modes of behavior, and the varying influences exercised upon their linguistic and social development in the home, community, and school. In Section 5 we consider the inter-generational dynamics of language use in this bilingual community, as they emerge from the comparison of observations with self-reports.

Section 6 serves as a summary of the ethnographic findings and signals some educational implications.

2.0 The ethnographic approach

Hymes (1976:4) defines ethnography as:

> ...a disciplined way of looking, asking, recording, reflecting, comparing, and reporting. It mediates between what members of a given community know and do, and accumulates comparative understanding of what members of communities generally have known and done.

The ethnographer approaches the group under study in an exploratory and open-ended fashion, attempting to understand and organize the events observed in terms of the categories and distinctions made by the actual participants (Wolcott 1975). These events are further interpreted in a holistic and comparative manner as part of a larger system within the particular society and in light of behavioral patterns observed in the past or in other communities. Put briefly, ethnographic research consists of the intensive involvement of the researcher in a given social setting in order to describe and identify, through the use of a variety of complementary research techniques, the cultural patterns and regularities that structure and perpetuate a society.

Ethnographic description is achieved mainly through participant observation, though interviewing, historical analysis, and document search are important adjuncts.[1] Through immersion and observation within the natural setting of a group, the participant observer is able to combine the viewpoint of the stranger with that of the native, resulting in a more complete picture of the culture.

The participant observer utilizes his observations of the content and form of social interaction, both verbal and non-verbal, as a foundation for making inferences about the social meaning of (and competence required for) this behavior (Erickson 1977:65). Ideally, the data collected is structured through constant comparison, evaluation, and generation of hypotheses concerning particular phenomena, and the analytic frameworks and categories for building theory emerge from or are grounded in the actual observations (Glasser and Strauss 1967, Becker 1958, McCall and Simmons 1969). We should note here, however, that the use of inductive reasoning alone does not occur (nor should it), for no fieldworker comes to the work as a tabula rasa, and research unguided by some preliminary hypotheses and principles can only flounder directionless.

Participant observation has many advantages as an observational approach, including its ability to detail principles and explain processes of change, and its utility in amplifying and interpreting correlational work, serving as a background tapestry (Heath 1981) or "framework of thick description" (Geertz 1973) upon which to test other kinds of data. It can supply the data needed for more quantitative analyses, and even more essential, can indicate what is and what is not important to analyze. As Erickson (1977:58) has stated, "its primary concern is with deciding what makes sense to count ".

However, because of the extended length of time required to do true participant observation and the limitation of the work to relatively small groups (unless several teams of fieldworkers are used), some researchers view participant observation as useful only for exploratory purposes (Dean, Eichhorn, and Dean 1967, Schwartz and Schwartz 1969, Williamson, Karp, and Dalphin 1977).

The viewpoint held here is that the closest approximation to what is really occurring in a social situation may best be obtained by utilizing data from multiple sources, and that the union of observational and quantitative forms of data and analysis is indispensable to an in-depth understanding of both social and linguistic behavior. As Rist (1979:21) has noted:

> ...it is both shortsighted and self-defeating to assume that one has to work exclusively with one method to the exclusion of the other. The fact that these two approaches are in such fundamental tension over their basic assumptions and approaches to data collection and analysis need not lock the researcher into an either/or decision. Rather, there is the opportunity to sustain a dialectic between the two approaches, when each answers a part of the question at hand.

We will demonstrate in this report that a combination of ethnographic, attitudinal, and socio-linguistic methods can yield the most satisfactory depiction of how and why a variety of languages are used in a single speech community.

2.1 The ethnography of language

The ethnographic study of language as it is known today derived primarily from the concerns of the "new" ethnographers of the second half of the century who saw in the structuralist analysis of language a paradigm for analyzing culture.[2] Language, as one of the most visible and easily accessible aspects of culture, was highly suitable for detailed scrutiny and dissection of constituent components, and its role as expresser of other cultural forms made it particularly vital to study in order to penetrate the layers of meaning attached to all social behavior.

In 1962, Dell Hymes delineated a new inter-disciplinary field of inquiry, based upon the traditional interests of both anthropologists and linguists, yet focusing on an aspect missing from grammars and ethnographies - the use of language (Bauman and Sherzer 1975). Hymes (1962) termed this new approach the ethnography of speaking, or more broadly, the ethnography of communication, whose concern is with the situations, patterns, and functions of speaking as an activity unto itself. This has become one of the foundations of sociolinguistics and has had recourse to work in ethnomethodology, folklore, and text analysis.

In his 1962 article (and elsewhere, e.g. Hymes 1964, 1967, 1972), Hymes elaborates a programmatic model for the analysis of the basic unit of communication, the communicative event, its constituent factors, and its functions. This framework, encapsulated in the now famous mnemonic "SPEAKING" (Hymes 1967), directs attention to the structure of relations among the various components of speech events -- the setting, participants, ends, acts, key, instrumentalities, norms, and genre. The role of the speech ethnographer is to test, enlarge, and revise this grid based upon the emic perceptions of particular cultures. Studies in the ethnography of speaking within this framework have examined such speech events as contrapuntal conversations (Reisman 1974), greetings (Irvine 1974, Salmond 1974), narratives (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1974, Darnell 1974), male and female speech (Keenan 1974), and even silence (Basso 1972). None of these are complete ethnographies; rather, they can be viewed as microethnographic explorations that concentrate on a particular aspect of communication.

Another early collaborator in the development of the ethnography of communication was Gumperz, a pioneer in the use of ethnographic methods in the investigation of the social distribution and function of language varieties in heterogeneous speech communities (e.g. Gumperz 1964,1967,1968,1972, Gumperz and Wilson 1971). This interest in defining speech communities was extended to urban settings within the U.S. by Labov (1966, 1972a, 1972b) who has utilized an ethnographic base to ascertain through quantitative analysis the nature of language in its day-to-day forms, the variation among these forms and its relation to variation among the speakers, and the attitudes borne toward the forms by speakers of the particular variety as well as those of the larger society. This development is in keeping with a principal concern of ethnographers and a basic assumption of sociolinguistic theory: the departure from the one culture - one language conception and the move toward recognition of language repertoires as characterized by diversity and variation.

A tradition of urban participant-observation within the variationist framework has arisen since Labov's early contributions to the field (See Shuy et al 1968, Wolfram 1969, Trudgill 1971, Baugh 1979). The methodology of these studies is aimed at collecting examples of the most natural forms of speech possible for linguistic analysis, under the assumption that "vernacular," or the style in which the minimum attention is paid to the monitoring of speech, provides the most systematic data for the analysis of linguistic structure (Labov 1972b, 214). Much effort is exerted to minimize the often-noted observer effect or paradox whereby "natural" speech is precisely that which his very presence makes inaccessible to the observer.

Obtaining reliable samples of natural speech and overcoming the Observer's Paradox can be approximated in several ways - by minimizing the constraints of the interview situation via use of questions which attempt to divert the speaker's attention from his speech; by minimizing the distance between interviewer and informant (i.e. by using interviewers who share the same language varieties, ethnicity, norms of interaction - in sum, the same group membership as the informant), and by recording in non-interview situations (even in the absence of the fieldworkers). The latter two are only possible when the fieldworker has extensive ethnographic knowledge of the community. As Bloch (1976: 232) states:

> The field-worker must also have an extremely thorough knowledge of the social organization, the kinship system, the political system, the economic system, the trends towards change at work in the society concerned. The need for this knowledge is simply that, if communication is the medium for the long conversation between and within the generations that we call culture, it is such social concerns as politics, economics, religion, which are the substance of most of this talk.

It was precisely the concerns cited by Bloch that led us to approach the study of the intergenerational dynamics of language use in the Puerto Rican community of East Harlem from an ethnographic base. Extensive experience with this approach in a previous study of the same community (Language Policy T.F. 1982) showed us that only through extended direct observation within the community and the school could we obtain the type of natural language data we wanted to study, and understand its role in the larger community picture. (For a more detailed rationale of the use of ethnography in the study of a complex linguistic situation, see Pedraza 1981, Chapter 2).

2.1.1 Previous ethnographies of language use

In reviewing the relevant literature, we were struck by the relative dearth of ethnographic studies of the societal distribution and function of language. With few exceptions, the ethnographies that do exist (particularly for Hispanic communities in the U.S.) focus primarily on social structure, e.g. the phases of cultural reorganization and accomodation experienced by migrants (Koss 1965), the structure of adolescent peer groups (Doob 1967), family structure (Navarro Hernandez 1978), and patterns of cultural values (Achor 1978), and treat language only marginally and unsystematically.

The only truly ethnographic analysis of language use among bilingual children is that of Zentella (1981).[3] This work describes and analyzes the role of Spanish and English in the lives of Puerto Rican children within a community context. It takes a single residential block in East Harlem (eleven blocks away from the one described here) and examines via long-term participant observation and quantitative procedures, the contribution of social networks and family dyads to the development of code-switching skills. Special emphasis is placed upon characteristics of families and of speech situations which condition language choice and code-switching. The implications of this community-based research for language planning and educational policy-making are also explored.

Another ethnographically-based study of language use in a Hispanic community is that of Elias-Olivares (1976). Her investigation of a Chicano community in East Austin, Texas, is an attempt to describe the linguistic varieties and their functions- the ways of speaking, as well as the attitudes held toward language by the community residents. Elias-

Olivares resided in the community for two years, observing, informally interviewing, and tape recording residents of all ages with the help of an assistant recruited from the community. As a result of this extended fieldwork, she is able to describe a language repertoire consisting of two varieties of English plus at least four varieties of Spanish with code-switching among all these as a community-wide norm. She devotes a good deal of attention to language appropriateness and concludes (as do Pedraza, et al. 1980 for the Puerto Rican community in N.Y.C.) that there is no strict language-domain relationship in this community.

Several ethnographies of non-Hispanic bilingual communities should be mentioned here as well.

An exemplary ethnography of language usage in a bilingual setting is Gal (1979). This study of language allocation in a small town in eastern Austria approaches the process of shift from Hungarian to German as an instance of socially motivated linguistic change. Through long-term observation, interviewing, elicitation, and naturalistic tape recording, Gal was able to provide a detailed description of the synchronic heterogeneity obtaining in the community and relate it to historical changes in social structure and internal economy. Some of her findings regarding the effects of social change on communicative strategies have their parallels in the Puerto Rican community under study here.

Another study which makes use of both ethnographic and quantitative sociolinguistic methodology to examine a community with recourse to more than one language is that of Dorian (1979). Over ten years of participant observation in two East Sutherland Gaelic speaking villages allowed her to observe and analyze, both historically and synchronically, language use and what she terms "language death" or extinction. Language death, a common though little studied linguistic phenomenon, can (though need not) arise in bilingual communities as a result of language shift, and may reveal a great deal about the evolutionary processes internal to a language as well as the effects of sociocultural change upon the linguistic repertoire of a speech community. Dorian's fine-grained account of the displacement of Gaelic by English in East Sutherland offers interesting grounds for comparison to the situation of Spanish in New York City.

An ethnographic inquiry into still another multilingual community (this time in Canada) can be found in Scollon and Scollon (1979). In their examination of the linguistic past and present of Fort Chipewyan, a small town where four languages--Chipewyan, Cree, French, and English--have functioned for more than a century, the Scollons, through analysis of narratives, demonstrate how long contact can result in linguistic convergence at the structural and discourse levels as well as the broader level of "reality set" or world-consciousness. Once again, the potential parallels to the East Harlem scene make this study of interest to us here.

All of these studies will be examined once again in Chapter 9 in light of the findings of this report.

2.2 The ethnography of schools

Another body of literature pertinent to our concerns reports the use of ethnographic techniques and perspectives in studying schools.

Most traditional research on education has been based on large-scale quantitative surveys, correlational studies, or psychological experiments whose results for the most part have not been contextualized and have thus led to the reinforcement of certain stereotypes and facile generalizations about children, their communities, and the futures of both. Such studies may also have given school personnel convenient ways to avoid uncomfortable evaluations of educational problems and resist genuine innovations which may offer solutions to those problems.

The primary difference between ethnographic and "traditional" educational studies lies in what constitutes data. The strong psychological bias of traditional studies requires the use of those research strategies that assure the researcher of supposedly rigorous and objective conditions and standards of measurement (Cicourel et. al.

1974). This drive for the acquisition of 'hard' facts that can be applied to populations anywhere can cloud the real issues at hand which often rest upon the very differences and ungeneralizable features which make each group unique.

A major concern of the ethnographers of education has been to foster strategies that impart the social knowledge required for classroom competence in culturally and linguistically meaningful terms. In the process of realizing this goal, the ethnography of schools has taken two different routes. The first is that of the traditional anthropological ethnographers (Wolcott 1967, 1973 and Spindler 1971, 1974) who apply skills acquired in non-Western cultures to the school setting in order to discover the underlying set of rules governing social behavior in the classroom. The second, that of the microethnographers (e.g Erickson, Cazden, Shultz, and others), questions the adequacy of traditional ethnographic methodology for addressing certain vital issues in the schools. Traditional ethnography (pursued though participant observation and other techniques as described earlier) attempts a complete account of a community or society, while microethnography (utilizing exacting linguistic and paralinguistic analysis of video taped behavior) addresses much smaller units of specific behavioral patterns in specific social settings.[4] The distinction between the two is basically one of scope.

Microethnographic studies (which represent the current trend of research) have been directed toward the delineation or characterization of specific interactional events, in much the same way that the ethnography of speaking has been directed toward the investigation of specific communicative events. The basic premise behind these studies is that social structures are social accomplishments created through interaction, and that monitoring these mutually created and defined events is part of social competence (Philips 1972, Mehan 1979, Erickson and Shultz 1977).

School events researched thus far have included first circles (Bremme 19 6), sharing time (Michaels 1981), game playing (Shultz 1976), lessons (McDermott and Gospodinoff 1979), and counseling sessions (Erickson 1975). The focus has been on the form and organization of exchanges, the sociocultural competence underlying behavior, and the potential and real cultural conflicts existing between participants. Other microethnographies of schools have been more directly applied to the structuring of programs based on analyses of actual behavior. For example, Boggs (1972) examined child-adult exchanges in order to investigate why Hawaiian children have difficulty in answering questions in class. Au and Jordan (1980) utilized information gathered about a Hawaiian speech event called 'talk story' to create a culturally congruent reading program for Hawaiian children. Mohatt and Erickson (1980) examined the cultural differences in the behavior of an Indian and a non-Indian teacher in order to improve teacher training and classroom management techniques.

Although these microethnographies describe only a very small part of the interactive universe of the participants, this limitation of scope should ideally not violate the holistic perspective of traditional ethnography. As Erickson (1977:59) has characterized the process:

> ...units of analysis are considered analytically as wholes, whether that whole be a community, a school system and its political relationship with its various 'publics,' the relationship among those in a school building, or the beginning of one lesson in a single classroom.

However, the holistic perspective has been maintained more in theory than in practice. Microethnographies, while contributing greatly to the understanding of the "trees", have neglected the "forest". Few make more than a passing attempt to relate the careful, detailed analysis of micro-structures to the larger environment that shapes them. Few leave the school setting to examine the communities that house the schools and from which the students come.

This tendency to look ever more deeply inward rather than outward limits the effectiveness of microethnography in clarifying larger questions of language use. While it has become clear from all of these studies that there are many communicative factors (both verbal and non-verbal) which may mediate between the child's community and school behavior (McDermott and Gospodinoff 1979), it is not at all clear what these factors are or how they operate, nor what effects they may have for the school or the community. In order to assess the roles of the school and the community in language maintenance and language change, in-depth information about the community, its language varieties, and their functional distribution, as well as the attitudes of speakers toward those varieties is required. It is also crucial to determine the educational needs of the community, the position of the school in community life, and the extent to which educational programs make use of the linguistic skills brought into the classroom by the children.

In the case of bilingual children, it would appear to be particularly vital to consider the entire range of their activities in order to better understand their behavior in and out of class. Identification of language varieties and their usage in a variety of settings with participants of various social characteristics within the community (Fishman 1971) is crucial to the proper functioning of bilingual programs and the success of the children within them. To be even minimally effective in reaching children, a bilingual program must recognize language varieties and sociolinguistic rules of appropriateness that reflect the patterns used by those children outside of class. Without careful assessment of these factors, the program may very well ignore or disparage the linguistic and cultural diversity of its students, their "invisible culture" (Philips 1974), and meet with their rejection. Only through observation both in and out of school can it be understood how the bilingual program fits into the life of the community and what forces within the community favor or disfavor its ultimate success.

While most of the recent school ethnographies have involved children who had access to or control of other languages or dialects and for whom language choice was potentially an issue,[5] few of the studies have directly examined bilingual classrooms where selection from competing language repertoires is a constant process. Four recent ethnographies focusing specifically on bilingual classrooms were guided implicitly by an understanding of the potentially conflictful relationship between home and school norms of behavior. Shultz (1975) examined the language strategies of children and teachers in bilingual classrooms, in particular the contexts for code-switching, and the implications of these strategies for bilingual education. Carrasco et al. (1979) and Carrasco (1980) carried out microanalysis of videotaped bilingual school contexts (with input from teachers) in order to assist in assessing students' communicative competence. Moll et al. (1980) investigated the organization of English and Spanish reading instruction in a bilingual classroom as a means of pinpointing sources of interference in the development of second language skills.

The major difference between such projects and the one reported here lies in the scope. The microethnographic studies focus on the internal workings of the classroom as reflected in language strategies and usage. Our project uses ethnographic techniques in order to guide interdisciplinary study of more macro-level or gross sociolinguistic patterns which are manifested in all facets of the children's lives -- the school being only one arena (though a particularly important one). If we were to place this study in relation to the traditional ethnographies of schooling and the 'new' microethnographies, it would have to fall somewhere in the middle, perhaps leaning more toward the traditional but with awareness and appreciation of the concerns of the microethnographers.

Our position between paradigms will become clear in the next section which describes the methodology used in this study.

3.0 Methodology

The project was designed in such a way as to approach the task of describing and analyzing the inter-generational dynamics of the speech community from three different perspectives--the ethnographic, attitudinal, and sociolinguistic. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the goal of the ethnographic portion of the study is to provide via ethnography both the in-depth information about the community vital to the attitudinal and sociolinguistic inquiries as well as complementary forms of data which enhance the larger analysis.

3.1 Nature of the data collection

Accordingly, we utilized the various techniques available to the ethnographer - systematic participant and non-participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, and examination of documents and other sources. Tape recordings and field notes constitute much of the data. These are used to verify the interview data. Data collection took place in the school, home, and community. We will consider each setting in turn here.

3.1.1 Observation in the school

We began systematic observation in the school during the spring semester of 1979. We selected this time to begin so as to observe the children already settled within the routine of the academic year. Subsequent observation during the following fall term permitted an assessment of each child in two different grades.

Because of the long history of involvement on the part of the Centro and its members in the struggle for bilingual education in the distrcit, we were received warmly by the school authorities who welcomed our presence and conferred with us as friends.[6] Certain teachers not involved in the study needed reassurance about our continued presence in the school. If we were to do such a study again, it would be wise to communicate with all the teachers in the school, not just those working with us. All of the teachers directly involved in the study were cooperative and helpful.[7] In general, we were given unlimited freedom to come and go and observe as we pleased. The slight initial concern that we were evaluating them in some way vanished as we developed warm relationships with the teachers, helping them with small tasks in the classroom, assisting them with their own schoolwork, meeting them outside of school or at faculty parties, etc. Many consulted with us about the children in our sample, and would often come up to us saying "Your children have done...." as if we were the parents.

Initially, we observed the children with minimal participation in their interactions in order to get an idea of the contexts which would prove most fruitful in terms of language production for later tape recording. This necessitated being with the children in all of their activities within the school -- during lessons, independent work, lunch, recess, gym, assemblies, school arrival and departure, even bathroom breaks. Once we got an idea of the general workings of the school and gained the confidence of the children and their teachers, we moved into more participatory forms of observation and taping of daily routines.

Participant observation of children in a school setting is a difficult task. First of all, children are grouped in somewhat arbitrary classes, usually by age and/or some measure of academic performance, which do not generally correspond to the groups formed by children themselves out of school. Thus, our sixteen children, who lived together on the same residential block and who played or otherwise interacted together there, were scattered throughout the school in different classes and programs and rarely had an opportunity to deal with each other during school hours. Even during lunch and recess, there was a tendency for classroom allegiance to override other loyalties operative out of school. (This was furthered by the scheduling of eating and playing which separated younger and older children).

The scattering of children who were neighbors outside of school made it crucial for us to carefully structure and schedule our observations in order to gain comparable information about each child. With a team of two observers, this required considerable juggling so as to ensure that all of the children were observed in their total class routine on different days and during different time periods. For the most part, only one or two of the sample children were in a given class (See Table 1A), and the fact that our design (outlined in Chapter One) incorporated observation during the spring and fall semester of two different school years further multiplied the number of classes we had to observe (see Table 1B). In all, we observed 18 different classes on a regular basis, and several other (reading labs, media classes, mixed gym classes, mixed library classes, etc.) intermittently.

Table 1A

Spring
1979

Class Lang.	Grade	Number of sample children
M	K	3
B	K	2
B	1	1
B	2	2
M	2	3
B	5	1
M	5	1
M	6	1
B	6	1
9		15

16th child added in Fall 1979

Table 1B

Fall
1979

Class Lang.	Grade	Number of sample children
M	1	1
M	1	1
B	1	3
B	2	1
B	3	2
B	3	1
M	3	2
B	6	1
M	6	1
	9	13

1 Child transferred out
2 graduated to junior high

Table 1: Distribution of sample children across classes and semesters

The quantity of fieldwork required to cover the different settings in the school reduced the amount of classroom language data which could be collected for each child; in other words, some depth had to be sacrificed for breadth. This was unfortunate but not critical in this study since our research scope ranged beyond the school environment, and much more in depth observation was done in home and community settings. Moreover, as we will see, the classroom environment is by no means a favorable one for speech of any sort, let alone the kind of naturalistic data we sought to analyze. Nonetheless, future projects of this kind might benefit from either increasing the size of the field team or restricting the number of classes observed.

A more important issue in doing participant observation of children in school is how to become a participant in an institutionalized situation that recognizes only two basic roles - that of teacher (authority figure) and that of student. Judging by our age and size alone, we could not possibly be identified by the children as peers, yet we were most concerned about not being perceived as authority figures (the most logical role assignment given to adults in the classroom) because of the obvious constraints this would place on the children's behavior and speech. However, the teachers themselves sometimes (consciously or inadvertently) fostered this perception by placing us in situations where we had to perform in teacher-like ways (e.g. leaving us alone with the class, asking us to help students with work, or to mediate disputes etc.), despite the fact that we had specifically explained our proposed role in the classroom at the outset of the project.[8]

It was difficult to refuse a request for assistance while trying to develop a good relationship with a teacher. Other situations arose in which we were forced to assume an adult role through our own sense of responsibility or concern for the children (e.g. in keeping them from hurting themselves or others). However, our eventual familiarity with the children, not only in the classroom but in their homes and on their block over a period of almost two years, encouraged them to approach us as friends. We always referred to ourselves by our first names and corrected them if they addressed us as "missy" or "teacher". We were careful to dress casually and accompanied them and participated in their various activities. We met their friends, talked about their concerns, ate what they ate, read what they read, shared their private jokes about each other and the teacher, shared their personal sorrows and embarrassments, warned them about potential trouble, and covered for them when necessary in front of teachers or rival children. Most important, we obeyed the cardinal rule of friendship: never tattle to the teacher. This last, more than anything, won us the children's trust and allowed them to view us more as older playmates or friends rather than adults. We feel confident, then, that the observational and linguistic data to be presented in ensuing sections closely approximate actual behavior.

In our observations in the school we were interested in ascertaining the use and choice of language in the classroom by child and teacher and the relationship of that choice both to the goals of the particular program and the child's overall language preference. The use of participant observation was vital in this regard as it allowed us to compare the ideal language distribution outlined in the school curriculum not only with informal reports of language use made by teacher and children but also with actual language use.

We recorded our observations in detailed field notes that covered both verbal and non-verbal behavior of our target children, the teacher, and the class as a whole. These notes were generally made outside the classroom after the observation; however, certain examples or quotations were often jotted down on the spot. The children were initially curious about our writing but gradually became accustomed to it as one of the features of our somewhat amorphous job. Some asked to see the notes but were disappointed by the incomprehensibility of the content and soon stopped asking.

The notes focused particularly on features we had previously found to be of import to the community: code switching, possible instances of language 'interference', grammatical and lexical features, and corrections or comments about these features made by both teachers and students. This form of data gathering should not be taken as highlighting "deviations" or "irregularities"; that was an approach we deliberately sought to avoid. Rather, it was a way of noting possible avenues for quantitative study of data extracted from the tapes. The capacity to indicate potential lines of investigation is one of the basic strengths of observation which we utilized to our advantage in this project.

3.1.2 Observations in the home and community

When the spring semester finished, we followed the children into the neighborhood, and spent the entire summer observing, participating, getting to know them and their families, and taping extensively in order to contrast subsequently the language norms of the classroom with those of the community. As in the school observations, we accompanied the children in a wide range of situations -- playing on the street, hanging out, watching T.V., caring for younger siblings, taking baths, arguing with parents, eating dinner, walking through the park, to mention only a few. As we will see below, the familiarity we established permitted us to obtain data even when we were not present through use of the tape recorders, further expanding our "observational" scope and allowing for even more naturalistic data.

As we had already made an entry with our previous study of adult language and were well-known and respected in the area (see footnote 6), we faced no major problems in making contacts and establishing ourselves in the neighborhood. The most trying part of the fieldwork involved locating people, particularly parents, in order to conduct interviews, administer tests, or just tape. It was almost useless to make appointments, as people's plans often changed precipitously, and most had no phones. Knocking on doors could be fruitless if residents were listening to radios or were involved in other tasks. We eventually relied on much the same method as area residents use when they want to locate someone -- scan the streets, ask the perennial hangers-out who serve as a local directory, call up to the windows, check the homes of close friends or relatives and the block stores and clubs. When all else fails, settle down to wait or come back another time. (We had frequent recourse to the last).

As frustrating and difficult as it was to keep track of sixteen children in the school where their whereabouts were pre-determined, such problems were minor when compared to those encountered when the children and their families had the entire Barrio in which to move. During the summer months especially, we had to compete with the attractions of the hydrant and the diversion of family trips not possible at other times of the year.

The residential mobility of our sample members also kept us running around, particularly toward the end of our fieldwork period when we were trying to get formal interviews and psycholinguistic tests completed. These were understandably less appealing than the naturalistic recording, and some of the children could hardly be blamed for trying to avoid them. (On the other hand, some of the children took a lot of pleasure in those very tasks, even when they bored the fieldworker). One family containing three of our sample children moved to another borough, which necessitated a long subway ride and walk in the evening hours to follow through with their interviews. Another packed up and went to Puerto Rico just when we were trying to schedule interview sessions. Still another family was called out of the country because of a family emergency, leaving the testing process incomplete.

During our summer of observation and taping (and the following semester when we returned to the school with the children while maintaining our presence on the block and in the homes), we had to negotiate and renegotiate our roles in the community. Despite the fact that we were known in the area (particularly Pedraza due to previous fieldwork)and our observations became increasingly participatory in nature, there was some confusion evident in the way we were perceived by some of the community residents, especially those not directly involved in the study. This is a common problem faced by fieldworkers. Wax (1971) reported being variously identified in her three fieldwork experiences as a teacher, FBI investigator, social worker, WAVE recruiter, call-girl, communist agitator, and holy person.

We were often referred to as teachers or otherwise associated with the schools, a natural conclusion given our initial contact with the children in the classroom, but one we firmly denied as we did not want to bias the relationship by being treated as school personnel. One prominent community resident decided that Pousada was mentally retarded because of her constant playing with children. Another revealed to us that some of the mothers initially suspected us of being child molesters, but she had reassured them that we were merely writing a book. Others resolved the matter by referring to us as interviewers.

A continual and somewhat amusing misperception on the part of the children (and some of their parents until corrected) was that we were husband and wife or, at the very least, lovers. This role assignment is consistent with widely held notions of male-female relationships in the community which maintain that men and women cannot work together without romantic involvement. For some, it was probably easier to perceive the researchers as a traditional couple rather than workers performing a job. This assumption may also have had certain benefits in that it accorded Pousada some degree of in-group status through association and lent a note of respectability and continuity to the team's work. All in all, these misconceptions about our roles were more comical than problematic and restricted primarily to people outside the study, as those directly involved came to know us and our purpose very well by the end of the fieldwork period.

3.1.3. Interviewing and testing

As the methodology, results, and implications of the formal and informal interviews and the psycholinguistic tests will be detailed in Chapters Four and Five, we will only briefly indicate their nature here as regards data collection.

During the second semester of observation and taping, we designed a number of instruments through which to gain more formal speech data as well as specific information with regard to language background, skills, and attitudes among the children, their parents, and teachers. These instruments consisted of a rather informal sociolinguistic interview derived from the work of Labov et. al. (1968), a formal attitudinal interview based on the instrument used in our adult studies covering questions of language, education, and ethnicity, various measures of language dominance, a loanword elicitation task, and a measure of language and ethnicity discrimination. The children were asked to respond to all of these instruments; the parents, the formal interview, the loanword elicitation task and the ethnicity measure; and the teachers, the formal interview alone. Most of the responses were tape recorded as well as being entered on coding sheets.[9]

Generally, several visits to the homes had to be made to complete all of the tasks, which accounts for the length of time they required. All of the logistical difficulties of observing and taping were magnified during this period as we began to demand more than just good will and socializing from our sample children and their families.

In particular, we had to guard against a reinterpretation of our roles in this most distancing of activities. It was difficult to maintain and develop the role of 'friend' so carefully developed over long participant observation when we began requiring what no friend ever asks another. However, it was in those cases where our earlier inter-personal bonds were strongest that our 'testing' activities did the least damage and produced the best data, testimony to the need for trust and familiarity in the testing situation. It was precisely because we anticipated such an effect that we postponed the administration of these instruments until late in the project term.

The results of these measures were compared to what we knew from our observations and used to explain the results of our quantitative analysis of speech taped in a wide variety of situations.

3.1.4 Taping in the School and Community

In contrast to most current school and community ethnographers, we chose audiotaping rather than videotaping because it would accurately capture the language data needed for our sociolinguistic analysis without being overly obtrusive. By using a very small, easily portable tape recorder with a lavalier microphone (Sony TCM 600W, ECM 16, ECM 150), we were able to tape the children wherever they went. The simplicity of this machine also made it possible for the children to tape themselves without our supervision, resulting in more natural and spontaneous data. The relative inexpensiveness of audiotaping was another point in its favor. In all, over 165 hours of taped conversation were collected over the two years of the project. These included tapes of naturally occurring school, street, and home events, as well as responses to the informal sociolinguistic interviews, formal language attitude questionnaires, and psycholinguistic measures of language usage.

Taping in the schools was fairly uncomplicated. Few of the teachers had any objection to our taping lessons and other classroom activities, even disciplinary sessions in which considerable emotion was vented. The children would place the recorder in or on their desks or carry the recorder around hung from their wrists or shoulders. The recorders soon became a high status item among the children, and one problem was getting sufficient taped speech from our sample children while allowing others to tape as well in order to dissipate any jealousies or claims of unfairness. (Some non-sample children actually have provided more interesting data). Another problem was in ensuring that the children did not use the recorder as an excuse to talk and cut up in class. Attempts in this direction were nipped in the bud at the risk of losing good data.

In the community, there were fewer constraints on taping, but opportunities for good sound quality were diminished, given competing traffic, music, and conversational roar. Despite this, we utilized every chance to tape. We taped the children alone, with their closest friends, with their parents and other family members, and with groups of friends out on the street. We remained with the children for some of the tapings, participating or not as the situation dictated, but left them alone with the recorder to do as they wished for others. Some of the resultant tapes are brilliant, particularly those in which children were interacting together in the absence of the interviewer;

others are almost worthless (such as the one which preserved for posterity an entire television episode of the Flintstones with not a word from the child).

Our equipment suffered greatly during this period, as the children became so accustomed to the machines that they would not curb their activities in any way and often subjected recorder and mike to very rough treatment. We had a close call once with a child who was bent on immersing himself under the fire hydrant spray with the recorder on, and another child startled us by walking down the street swinging the mike by its cord like a lariat. In fact, the worst problems we faced in our fieldwork involved our equipment and its increasing vulnerability to rough handling by the children. In addition to maintenance concerns, a flaw in design involving the location of the "pause" button on the tape recorders caused us to lose some valuable data.

The reaction of the children to tape recording is worthy of note. Unlike most adults, they adapt very quickly to speaking into a microphone and do little editing of their speech, though they are usually aware of the accountability inherent in recording. Occasionally, children would whisper or giggle about taping certain interactions; however, after an initial familiarization period, they tended to put aside caution and tape everything.

The children often made a game out of taping and pretended to be disc jockeys, masters of ceremonies, reporters, teachers, etc. They sang, told stories and jokes, and practiced poetry, obscene noises, and special sound effects. They taped other children and adults surreptitiously, laughing heartily when discovered. At other times they completely ignored the presence of the recorders and chattered without inhibitions or fell silent as their moods took them.

Of course, the children varied in their fondness for taping. While all were delighted with the sound of their own voices (especially in fast play-back), some were voracious talkers who never tired of recording while others were more retiring and participated in the recording sessions more as a favor to us than out of pleasure. (As mentioned in the general introduction to this report,those children who would not speak at all or who were completely non-plussed by the recorders (two, to be exact) were eliminated from the original sample).

3.2 Some observations on doing team fieldwork

This project differed from our earlier research in that there was a team of two people engaged in fieldwork throughout the entire period, which allowed us to form a much richer conception of the children and their environment than would the typical 'Lone Ranger' approach exemplified by the work of Whyte (1941) and Leibow (1967). We were able to use our time more efficiently, dividing the observational tasks in order to cover as much ground as possible. By observing the same children at different times and in different situations, as well as occasionally observing them together, we were able to improve the validity of our data collection and check for biases in the conclusions we were drawing. Having two perspectives on the same problem also led to the stimulation of new ideas and hypotheses and, hopefully, the solving of more questions.

That one member of the team (Pedraza) was Puerto Rican, born and raised in a N.Y.C. neighborhood similar to the one under study, and familiar with the patterns of interaction within the community due to long periods of observation and residence in the area, was an important factor in our ease of entry and in our understanding of what we were observing. The sensitivity to cultural norms and shared knowledge afforded by this in-group membership was complemented by Pousada's status as a sympathetic outsider of Hispanic (though non-Puerto Rican) background. The combination of fieldworkers helped us side step the polemic described in Whitehead (1980) of "indigenous vs. alien investigators" and their relative scientific objectivity.[10]

In addition, having a team consisting of a man and a woman permitted entry into a greater variety of situations with more diverse groups of interactants. Each team member had differential access to particular members of the community and developed different kinds of relationships with the sample children and their familial and non-familial contacts. This was due not only to the specific personality traits and life experiences of each observer, but more importantly, to the social boundaries and sex role expectations of the community itself, which favor certain interactions and render others difficult.

Although with the youngest children of either sex, it did not seem to matter which fieldworker was observing, as the age of the children increased, there was more of a sex division in their own activities, and a male observer tended to develop a better rapport with male children, and a female with females. This was most striking with the pre-adolescents.

With adults, the sex division demanded more rigid observational strategies, and age was also an important consideration. In general, it was much easier for the male observer in interact with men, particularly with adolescent or young adult men, who maintain a vigorous and visible street life. The female observer, on the other hand, was better able to interact with women engaged in housekeeping and child-rearing within the home, as well as older retired persons confined primarily to their homes and family circles.

Of course, actual access to individuals varied. Sometimes other factors besides sex and age made a difference; for example, the nature of the person's activities. In addition, there were many people who were open to both observers, yet revealed different aspects of themselves to each observer. By sharing notes, we were better able to understand the rationales behind particular events and attitudes.

Having briefly reviewed the rationale for using ethnography, some of the pertinent literature, and our actual data collection procedures, we turn in ensuing sections to the results of our observations.

4.0. The children and their linguistic environments

Children in general are a very noisy and visible part of the social life of this community, which reaches its peak during the warm weather months. During the academic year, they appear in the streets en masse on their way to school in the mornings and briefly again during the midday lunch hour, but do not register their true presence until after school is dismissed at 3 p.m., when they may be found in the candy store, in the street playing skellies or boxball, on the stoops, and around the banca (numbers parlor), which has a lounge with a pinball machine and television set. Children also accompany their mothers in shopping or running errands on or off the block. (See Appendix E for the games children played.)

During the summer months, they begin appearing outside after 9 a.m. and remain outdoors until 9 or 10 p.m., sometimes later when special events take place. During this period, much of the children's activity centers around the fire hydrant where they spend hours playing in the spray and keeping cool. This pastime is facilitated by the placement of police barricades, which block through-traffic during the day and convert the street into a large playground. The only generalized hiatus takes place at about 5 or 6 p.m. when most of the children disappear into their houses to eat supper, watch television, and take baths. During the school year, they rarely go out again after this time unless with their parents.

This schedule varies according to the sex and age of the children, as well as the overall protectiveness of their parents. In general, girls are kept closer to home than boys, and older children are out later and further afield than younger ones. Other factors, such as personal interests and recency of arrival (in the case of those children not born in New York City), may also intervene.

Somewhat more than half of the children under study here spend a large part of their time outdoors and on the block. Many of these, primarily the boys, can really be called streetwise, and are even allowed to venture off the block unattended. The younger children, on the other hand, are always supervised, either directly by the presence of a parent or sibling, or indirectly through neighbors or even the fieldworkers.

Like the adults in the community, the children have preferred territories on the block, as displayed in Figure 1. The non-participating children, when outdoors, can almost always be found on their stoops or in front of their buildings. The streetwise can be found in one of four central areas: el ancho (where the boys congregate), the banca (where the girls congregate), the skellies board, and the hydrant (where both ages and sexes mix).

The sixteen children selected for this study embody in their different activities, family situations, and interests the broad range of experiences available to children raised in an urban ethnic neighborhood. All but two were born or raised from infancy in New York City. Only four have ever visited Puerto Rico, once each and for very short periods of time (a pattern which may not neccessarily be the rule in the community, as other non-sample children have been observed to visit Puerto Rico more frequently). The

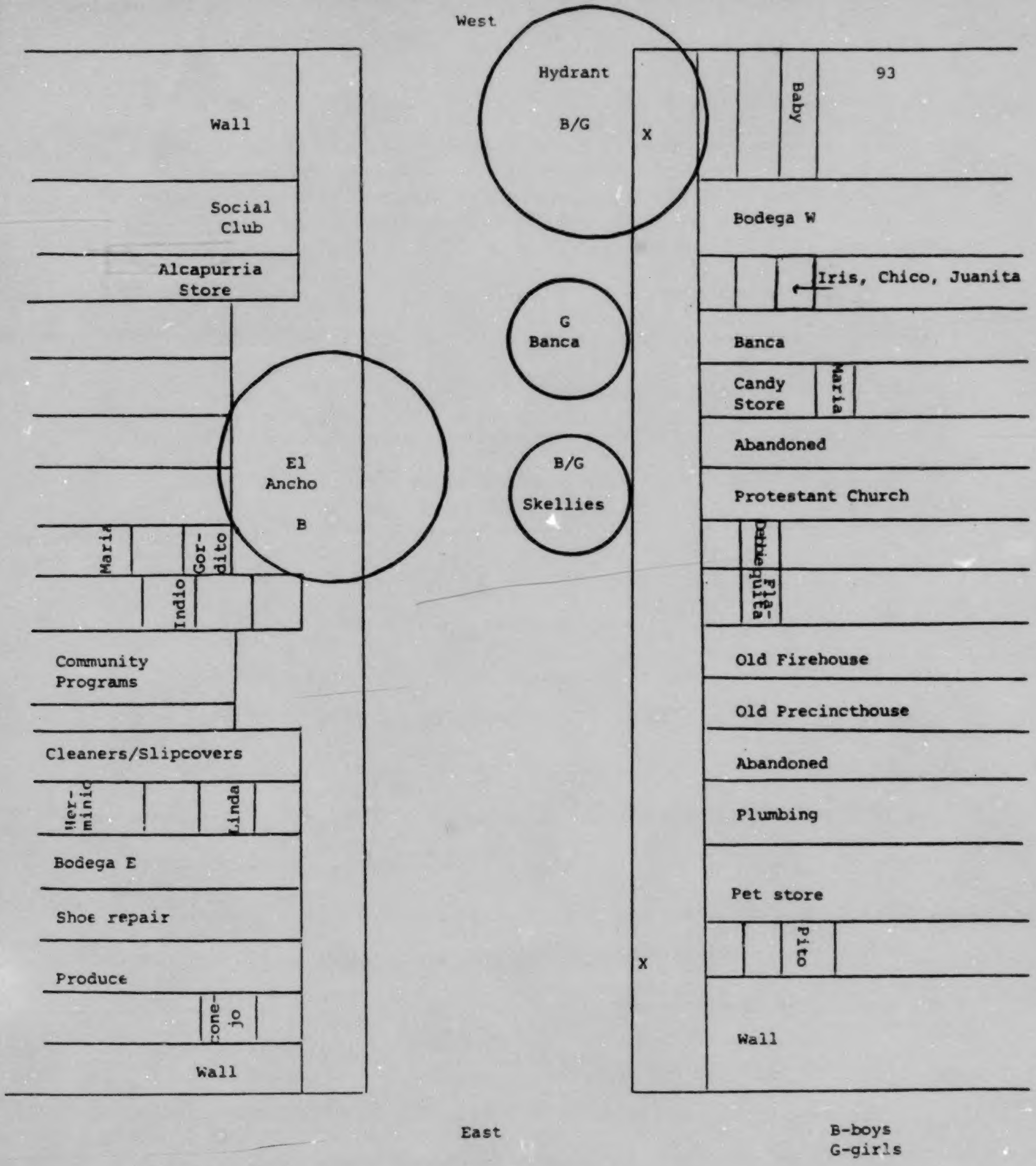

West
Hydrant
B/G
X
Baby
93
Wall
Social Club
Alcapurria Store
Bodega W
Iris, Chico, Juanita
G
Banca
Banca
Candy Store
Maria
El Ancho
B
B/G
Skellies
Abandoned
Protestant Church
Maria
Gor-dito
Debbie
Fla-quita
Indio
Community Programs
Old Firehouse
Old Precincthouse
Cleaners/Slipcovers
Abandoned
Her-minio
Linda
Plumbing
Bodega E
Pet store
Shoe repair
Pito
X
Produce
cone-jo
Wall
Wall
East
B-boys
G-girls

Figure 1 The Block

with designation of play areas

children's primary point of reference, then, is New York, though all were raised in Puerto Rican neighborhoods in East Harlem or the Bronx. Only two of the children have spent their entire lives on this particular block. Most have experienced considerable residential mobility even within the confines of the block, their families having moved at least twice and some as many as six times, generally in search of better or cheaper living quarters. Because of this mobility (noted by many of the school staff as a serious problem), nine children have attended more than one elementary school with a maximum of five different schools for one of the older girls.[11]

The individual histories of these children and their parents serve to exemplify the kind of linguistic and attitudinal diversity to be found even in such a ethnically and economically homogeneous community as this one. They clearly demonstrate that in a complex stable bilingual community, no single factor, be it migratory history, familial linguistic preference, or personal attitudes is sufficient, in and of itself, to account completely for the language usage of its individual members. In what follows, then, we provide a general overview of the types of influence exercised on children's language use in the domains of family, block and school.

4.1 Influence of the Family

The sixteen sample children represent thirteen different family units. Six of these are traditional two-parent households; the others are headed by single mothers or by the mother and a non-permanent mate. Grandmothers play a primary role in two of the households. One last, rather unusual household is maintained by a teenaged sibling.

In all of these families, the major responsibility for child-rearing rests with women, only in part because the men are employed and home infrequently. In all but one case, the attitudinal and observational information we report here was obtained from the primary rearer, who exercises the strongest and most intensive familial influence on the child, at least in the formative years.[12]

These families may be characterized as belonging to the poorest part of the working class--all but one of the males in the two-parent families are presently employed in the service sector of the economy (hospitals, food retail, maintenance). The other man (who is temporarily unemployed) and the single women receive public assistance.

The educational level of the parents ranges from third grade to high school graduation, with the majority having reached junior high. Only one was able to complete high school, and two more are now studying for equivalency diplomas. Only a few of the younger adults were educated in this country, reflecting community-wide patterns.

The parents range in age from 18 to 65, a spread which is due to the assumption of role of rearer by the teenager and the grandmothers. The majority, however, are in their late 20's and 30's,representative of the general young age of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Although Puerto Ricans have lived in this community since the 1930's and although some of the adults in our sample have been in New York most of their lives, very few were born here. Only one of the sample children has parents who were both born in the United States.

All of the rearers but one (the teenager) claim Spanish as their "first" language (several also learned English in early childhood or pre-adolescence). Three who learned their English in the United States now consider it to be their "stronger" language, and have children who also report English as their stronger language. The remainder report Spanish, regardless of the length of time in the United States (two-thirds have been in New York for 15 years or more).[13] Indeed, half of the rearers claim to speak little or no English, which is understandable since most are confined to the home, or at best, the block, where English is not required for survival. In these homes, exposure to English is provided (apart from television and radio), through siblings and the rearers' mates when at home.

All of the parents, however, want their children to be bilingual. They state the need for English mainly in instrumental terms—to obtain jobs and get around in a society that demands English for most day-to-day interactions. The need for Spanish, on the other hand, is articulated in both instrumental and affective ways. The question of jobs is again foremost among these, regardless of the fact that outside of El Barrio, there is a limited job market for bilinguals in any language pair, unless they are otherwise highly trained. Issues such as the possibility of moving back to Puerto Rico, the world importance of Spanish, the identification of Puerto Ricanness with Spanish, and the intrinsic value of knowing more than one of anything also figure in the desire for Spanish maintenance; these will be described in greater detail in chapter 4.

More than half of the parents feel the best place to learn Spanish is in the schools. Nonetheless, the children of three of these families are in monolingual English programs, because according to the school policy, their English is too good to allow for placement in bilingual programs. Only two of the parents consider that the home is the best place to learn Spanish, yet they both have children who prefer English in all domains, and who are also in English-only school programs. One of these parents would have preferred that her child be in a bilingual class but was never consulted, while the parents of another specifically do not want him to learn Spanish until later. The remaining parents cite a combination of school and home as the best place to learn Spanish. Even so, as we will see, one of their children receives only minimal exposure to Spanish at home or in school.

As is apparent from the foregoing brief description, Spanish can be heard in every one of the children's homes, albeit in varying amounts, and the great majority of the children learned Spanish as their first language. However, English also plays an important role in their lives though more so outside of the home. Even in the two families where a deliberate effort to use only one of the languages is reported, frequent contact with siblings and extended family provides the children with the larger gamut of language use current in the community, from English-only to code-switching to Spanish-only A combination of factors makes the influence of the home particularly crucial to language choice among Puerto Rican children, at least up until a certain age. These factors include community-wide patterns of respeto which generally require accomodation to the desires of one's elders, as well as overcrowded living conditions, whose practical consequences may range from constant exposure to the preferred language of one's parents and relatives and their friends who frequent the house, to exposure to the language of the radio and T.V. programs the parents may choose (see Chapter 2, section 2.2). Moreover, the very nature of the stable bilingual community in which these families reside, where English, Spanish, and code-switching are heard on a daily basis, provides parents with community-wide support for their language choice, whichever it may be, but particularly if that choice is Spanish. Parents are also ultimately responsible for what we will see to be an even more influential factor in determining language preference, at least among children this age: permitting the child the freedom to come and go outside the home and thus indirectly allowing him to come under influences other than their own.

Yet we will see in the next section that what parents want for their children is only one factor among many contributing to the child's current language preference, and even this factor functions to different degress depending on the child's particularities.

4.2 Influence of the block

The children are exposed to both English and Spanish in their block life, although differentially according to the location on the block where they hang out and the exposure they receive to each language from the adolescents and adults who also frequent that area. The very youngest children tend to play together using Spanish, though once they have reached school age, as was the case of all the children in our sample, there is quite a bit of variation in language preference, which cannot simply be explained by the factors of age or familial influences alone. Indeed, we have some indication, as we will discuss below, that greater exposure to the block (i.e. greater exposure to all the language modes) in fact results, particularly for boys, in increased perference for English.

As has been described in some detail in studies of adult language use on this block (Pedraza et al. 1980, Pedraza 1981), there are very few settings or domains of public life which require exclusive use of either English or Spanish. Those community norms which do favor the use of one language or the other, however, hold even more stringently for the children of the community than for their elders. This is due to the fact that children, once out of infancy (when they are generally addressed in Spanish), are not accomodated in their language preference as are adults. Because of the requirements of respeto, children cannot say to adults "Háblame en inglés", while adults can and often do request that children address them in Spanish.

For example, children know that when approached by older Spanish monolingual speakers, when running errands at either of the bodegas (as opposed to the supermarket, the Korean fruit store, or the Greek shoe repair shop), or when relaying the winning numbers along the block, Spanish is the appropriate and expected language. On the other hand, when participating in activities organized by the Protestant church (which is run by Anglos), or when playing certain games such as baseball or stickball which use English terminology, English is required. (For a closer look at language distribution in the children's play sessions, see Appendix).

Aside from these situations, it is not unusual to hear conversations within groups of children, as with the adults, which are carried out in English, Spanish, or code-switching modes, depending on the composition of the group and the particular needs of the moment .

4.3. Influence of the School

Unlike the situation in a child's home or on his block, the use of language in the classroom is correctly perceived as far more strongly constrained by an influence exterior to the child's own will: the teacher. Little surprise, then, that in general, when the children do speak in class (which is not very frequent), their language selection is consistent with the intended language allocation of their respective programs. In other words, children in monolingual classes use primarily English (especially when addressing the teacher, who generally knows only that language), while those in bilingual classes use both languages according to the task at hand. Given the program design, the amount of each language in bilingual classes varies according to the grade level of the student and the length of time he has been in the program. There are relatively few violations of the language distribution outlined in the bilingual program curriculum (see chapter 2, table 2), although one or two teachers have been observed to give instructions in one language for a task to be performed in the other language, a practice which may either reinforce or confuse the lesson for the children.

We have observed some use of code-switching on the part of the children, although far less in school than at home or on the block Regardless of the relative tolerance exhibited by most of the teachers in this regard (see chapter 4), most are adamant that it is highly desirable to keep lessons in the scheduled language, and few intentionally deviate from their lesson plans. The children may be receiving this message about language appropriateness and and correspondingly reducing their frequency of code-switching in this domain as much as possible. It may also be that some of the functions of code-switching (expression of group identity, verbal play, etc.) do not pertain to the classroom setting. Thus this mode of communication may have less reason for existing in the classroom than outside.

Of course , this does not affect the use of code-switching (or other language varieties) outside of class. Indeed, it became clear from our observations that the influence exercised by the teacher on language choice or on language use does not extend beyond the classroom, and that even in other areas of the school, such as the lunchroom and the playground, where the teachers are not present, children are in complete control of their language choice.

The overall language preference of each child, however, ultimately depends on a particular combination of influences from his family, peers, and school. These will be examined in greater detail in the next section, where we consider each child individually through detailed portraits of his language usage at home, on the block, and in school.

4.4 Individual portraits

Pito Ortiz -- Pito was five years old when we began our study. He is a bright and cheerful little boy, who wears thick glasses and is somewhat shy and withdrawn in the company of adults.

home: Pito lives in a building at the far east end of the block, (see Figure 1) rather removed from the areas where the other children congregate. Their top floor apartment gives his family access to the roof, where Mr. Ortiz, who is unemployed at present, raises racing pigeons. Pito's intense involvement with his father in all aspects of raising pigeons, along with the location of his building, the function of the roof as surrogate backyard, and his mother's reluctance to let him out on the street by himself, explain why he participates much less than other children in block activities.

In fact, Pito associates almost exclusively with his father, his brother, several cousins, and on occasion with children of his parents' friends, all of whom are English-dominant speakers. His main activities in the apartment consist of playing alone or with his siblings and dog, taking care of the pigeons, reading, or watching television. He is fond of books, though not a particularly good reader yet, and his parents have provided him with many (all in English).

Of all the children in our sample, Pito is the one who commands the least amount of Spanish. Mr. and Mrs. Ortiz made the decision early on to speak only English with their children -- even the baby, who by block norms would be addressed in Spanish -- in order to allow them to do well in school and "make it" in U.S. society. As a result, Pito knows only isolated words or phrases in Spanish, and is unable to complete any language tasks in Spanish though his phonology is that of a native speaker.[14] His only real exposure to Spanish in the home is via his grandmother who, while proficient in English, prefers Spanish. However, even with her he speaks English, again in contrast to the observed norm, and she in turn often responds to him in that language.

Mr. and Mrs. Ortiz only occasionally use Spanish when speaking together and prefer English in all settings. Though they have both been observed to converse in Spanish, the mother is more fluent than the father. Neither was educated in written forms of Spanish and depend on what they have been able to teach themselves for their written expression. They approve of the idea of bilingual education for children who do not speak English, but do not view it as necessary or desirable for their own children. They feel that Pito will pick up Spanish later on in junior or senior high school, and they do not want him confused by learning in two languages in the early grades until he has a good command of the school content matter. Pito himself has no desire to be in a bilingual class at this time.

With regard to language allocation, Pito and his parents are exceptional when compared to the other members of the sample. No other parents are as firm, either in word or action, in their insistence on English use in all domains. While there are other adults who, like the Ortiz couple, were raised in the United States, and still others who share the same aversion to placing their children in bilingual education programs, none have effectively succeeded to the same extent in excluding Spanish from their home life. This singularity will recur again and again in the ensuing analyses, where Pito will be seen to prefer English in all domains, to the exclusion of Spanish,even for purposes of code switching.

Pito's English, like that of many of the other children, is clearly influenced by Black English though he does not play with Black children at home or on the block. (He does, as we will see, associate with Black children in school). His father, whose speech is also heavily Black-influenced, has several close Black friends who frequent the house. Mrs. Ortiz' speech has some Black English features, but she openly aspires to "standard" English and speaks in a careful and often hypercorrect manner.

block: Though his family has lived on the block since he was an infant, Pito does not socialize extensively there. Most of his time is spent with family members, in or out of the house, with whom, as we have seen, he speaks only English. As mentioned earlier, the location of his building, the access to his roof, and his mother's reluctance to let him out also contribute to his isolation. He occasionally leaves the block to go fishing in Central Park with his family, to go shopping with his mother, or to visit his grandmother who lives nearby. While he is known to some of the other children in our sample from school, he was not named by any of them as a close friend or playmate.

school: Pito is in a monolingual English class in school. He is well regarded by both his teachers and his peers, though he only reports close involvement (always in English) with three boys, two of whom are non-Puerto Rican Blacks. He is very quiet and withdrawn in the classroom unless prompted, and his teachers have long felt that he could do better in his schoolwork. Interestingly enough, his first grade teacher noted an improvement in his school achievement and self-confidence when we started taping him in the classroom, most likely the result of increased peer status because of the tape recorder. This rise in performance reversed itself when the taping stopped.

Iris, Chico, and Juanita Mancuso -- These three children are half-siblings who at the outset of our study lived (together with their mother and step-father) on the second floor of a building next to the banca, a highly central location on the block where much activity takes place. They had only been on the block a short time when we met them; however, they were already very much a part of block life. Shortly before the end of the second year of the study, the family moved to a larger and better quality apartment in the Bronx where we continued to follow them for some time. We will examine each child individually after considering their shared experiences and background.

Mrs. Mancuso, who is at home all day due to illness, knows only isolated words and phrases in English. Though watching T.V. is a favorite family pastime, the programs watched are usually in Spanish, and thus do not provide much exposure to the English language through that medium. Mr. Mancuso knows considerably more English than does his wife, since he uses it at work, but he is also clearly Spanish-dominant. Neither of them was able to complete more than an elementary school education, but Mr. Mancuso is greatly concerned with what is "proper" in both deportment and language and takes it upon himself to chastise the children and his wife on everything from table manners to the correct use of usted. He is greatly preoccupied with what he perceives as linguistic "purity" and was often observed to correct the children on the use of loanwords and code switches, though he himself uses both.[17]

The children's maternal grandparents and other relatives also provide strong Spanish models, although among their young cousins and other half-siblings, English is very common. When playing together, the children use mainly Spanish, although English is increasingly becoming the language of choice, especially as Juanita and Chico are now in English-only classrooms in their new school in the Bronx and socialize with children who favor English.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Mancuso feel strongly that bilingual education is essential for Hispanic children in N.Y.C. They want their children to maintain their native Spanish, and see the program as one way of achieving this, but they also feel that English is the more important language for the children to learn in order to do well in school and in U.S. society. As a result, all three children, while advocating bilingualism for Puerto Rican children in general as well as their own eventual offspring, cite English as their favorite language despite their lesser proficiency in it. The few books that are in the apartment are in English though only Mr. Mancuso appears to read them.

Iris Mancuso -- Iris was five years old when we began our study. While she is a lively, vivacious child, this did not become apparent to us until we began observing her outside of school since she had been misassigned to an English-only class when she in fact knew only Spanish.

home: Although Iris was born in New York City, she did not begin to use English regularly until the second year of the study, when she was six. In fact, when she was initially placed in the English kindergarten, she was unable to function with either the children or the curriculum, and resolved this problem by simply not talking. Her Spanish monolingualism may seem surprising, given that she was born and raised in N.Y.C., and indeed, she (and her brother Chico) are the only children in the sample who were raised in the city and who are dominant in Spanish to the virtual exclusion of English. This is most likely her parents' preference for Spanish and the fact that she was rarely allowed out of the home environment before the first grade. (Until she established peer contacts outside, it was only the infrequent visits of older cousins and half-siblings which gave Iris any opportunity to hear or use English in the home setting.)

Her English is heavily accented and limited in vocabulary but steadily improving both in quantity and quality.

block: Initially, Iris was often just a little face in the upstairs window from which she watched the other children playing. When she was permitted to come out during the summer before entering first grade, she would play on her stoop or under the spray of the hydrant conveniently located in front of the house. This being the only hydrant in active use on the block, the stoop of Iris' former building functions as a central hang-out for all the children, especially during the summer. This, plus being the younger sibling of two very active sample members, accounts for what we will see in section 4.5 to be Iris' central position in the block network.

school: When we met her, Iris was in a monolingual kindergarten with Pito and Gordito. During the second year, she was in a bilingual first grade along with Dorcas and Josie. However, she did not interact much with these children in class. Iris is a great storyteller and actress, abilities which have rarely been tapped in her school life. Her initial year in the monolingual kindergarten was a painful experience for her. She spent most of her class time silent, neither participating nor interacting with the other childeren who were puzzled by her silence. She would then go home and be very talkative and vivacious. In fact, her parents often complained to us about her non-stop chatter. Iris was placed in the monolingual class despite her lack of English skills because the bilingual kindergarten was overcrowded and her mother had registered her too late to ensure proper placement. The bilingual coordinator was aware of the placement problem but felt she would adjust.

Iris was eventually placed in a bilingual first grade class where she began to blossom socially, although it soon became clear that she was behind academically in most areas and ended up being sent for part of the day to the bilingual learning disabilities program (Project BUILD) for extra help. At the time that the Mancusos moved out of the district, the school was planning to send Iris and Chico to another school for special help. By that point, Iris was beginning to get a reputation for being disruptive in class, talking constantly and loudly in Spanish (and some English) with a group of girls she played with in school.

Chico Mancuso -- Chico was seven years old when we first met him. He is a cheerful, active boy with little interest in anything but having a good time, which he seems to manage even in school.

home: We had few opportunities to observe Chico at home since he is always out on the street, even to the point of asking for money to buy food outside rather than join the family for supper. When at home, he plays with his sisters but gives most of his attention to his stepfather whom he worships. Mr. Mancuso, who speaks mainly Spanish, plays on an amateur baseball team where Chico sometimes accompanies him in the summer. Chico has an amiable relationship with his mother but does not spend much time with her.

Chico is predominantly a Spanish speaker, a preference which is at present reinforced by his Spanish-speaking home environment, although he spends an increasingly limited amount of time there. He is, however, picking up more and more English from his older sister Juanita, and from friends in school and on the street.

block: Chico's closest companion on the block was Gordito. The two were always together, though Gordito was much more restricted in his movements than Chico, who for the most part received only minimal parental supervision from the second-floor window of his apartment. This is the only case we have observed of two children with different language preferences (Gordito preferring English-only in all domains but the home) engaging in such a close and intimate relationship. This discrepancy did not in any way interfere with their friendship, however; each spoke his preferred language, and had sufficient passive competence in the other to sustain easy communication. What little language switching did occur between these two was usually on the part of Gordito, who spoke mainly Spanish until shortly before entering kindergarten.

Chico also carried on most of his other block interactions, such as with Indio, who is older and an English-dominant bilingual, in Spanish although he would switch into English on occasion, especially when in the company of the older boys whose acceptance he was always trying to gain. Chico is very street-wise and knows how to play a variety of street games and how to extract money from obliging adults. On the block, he got along well with a group of young men who hang out on the street. They called him "Shorty", and a few informally adopted him as a sort of mascot. His relationship with these primarily English-dominant men may have provided him with the exposure to English he did not receive at home; despite the fact that they tended to use Spanish with him more often than English.

school: Chico was considered a disruptive element in his bilingual first and second grade classes. His three tablemates, with whom he spent a lot of time talking out of turn, were also Spanish-dominant. However, Chico also socialized with many others in the class, regardless of their language preference, in much the same manner as he did with Gordito on the block.

Chico has very poor reading skills in both languages and a very short attention span. He, like Iris, was in the learning disabilities class and was slated for a special help center shortly before the family moved to the Bronx, as the bilingual coordinator felt that the program could not give him the individual attention he required in order to progress at grade level. All of his teachers felt that he didn't make any effort in school. The truth of the matter was that school was not at all important, except as a site for socializing for Chico. In his new school in the Bronx, he has been placed in an English-only class, which has served to accelerate his English acquisition though not his academic development.

Juanita Mancuso: Juanita was not initially identified as a sample member since the address given for her was incorrect. She was eight years old when we incorporated her into our sample during the second year of the study. She is a tough and resilient fighter who is very protective of those younger or smaller than she.

Unlike her siblings, Juanita was born in Puerto Rico (one of the four in our sample) and brought to N.Y.C. as an infant. She has much better English conversational skills than her siblings (especially curses which she directs unflinchingly at any perceived interlopers), probably because of her age, activity on the block, and close contact with María, an older, balanced bilingual. Though she remains more fluent in Spanish at this point, her reported preference is for English, which she perceived as a language in which one learns more.

home: Juanita, like her brother Chico, spends little time at home. After school, she takes some time to complete her homework and then dashes outside. Though the eldest, she is not required to do much in the way of household chores and so is free to interact at length with children outside. When she is indoors, she watches television (mainly Spanish programs), draws pictures, or play-acts (in both languages) with her siblings.

block: Juanita does not allow anyone to bother or take advantage of her or her siblings and as a result is often engaged in both physical and verbal fights, at both of which she is highly skilled. When the Mancusos lived on the block, she used to hang out with her siblings, Baby (her 'boyfriend'), and members of the girls group (particularly María who adopted her as a favorite). She and Flaquita maintained a semi-adversarial relationship because of their mutual and competitive fondness for Baby. Now that Juanita lives in the Bronx, she has had to fight her way into the respect of a new group of children, and appears to have succeeded. Juanita uses both English and Spanish with her friends on the street and is a fairly proficient code switcher.

school: In her bilingual bridge class of first, second, and third-graders, Juanita was often entrusted with small tasks and responsibilities because she was one of the oldest and most dependable children in the class. These included running various errands during class time to school personnel with whom she would speak in English and taking care of a frightened Spanish dominant girl. Like all of the other students in this particular bridge class, Juanita was below grade level in all her work; however, she managed to keep sufficiently afloat academically to satisfy requirements for promotion. In her new school, she has been placed in an English-only classroom and is holding her own.

Gordito Pérez -- Gordito was five years old when we began our study. He is, as his name suggests (Gordito = Fatty), a very roly-poly little boy, always amiable and smiling.

home: Gordito lives with his parents in a first floor apartment located on the ancho, or wide part of the south side of the block, a central hang-out spot for the younger boys as well as many adults. He is a change-of-life baby whose older siblings have families of their own on other blocks, making him in effect an only child. These siblings, who visit frequently, use English with Gordito and with their own children; Gordito's nephews and nieces speak only English. Mr. and Mrs. Pérez have good oral English skills though their speech is accented, but they prefer to speak Spanish and do so with each other and among other adults in the block.

Gordito is kept close to home by his parents who are very protective of him. He has an enormous collection of toys of every kind and spends many hours playing by himself or watching T.V. in both English and Spanish.

Gordito's preference is clearly for English, despite the fact that his first language was Spanish, which he used extensively until he started school. In fact, his preference for English at this point is so overriding, that had we not followed him into his home (or done our previous fieldwork), we would not have known he spoke Spanish at all.

What accounts for this clear shift in language preference at such a young age, and in such striking contrast to the other Spanish-speaking five year old in our sample? For one thing, Gordito received intensive exposure to all facets of block life in both languages when still a baby, when Mr. Pérez would take him along to the store, to the pool hall, to the numbers parlor, etc. . Furthermore, while the Perez couple prefers Spanish, they do not insist that their son speak to them in that language and in fact, they have even been observed to accomodate to his language preference.[15]

Gordito also maintains frequent contact with his siblings who speak to him in English. Finally, Mr. and Mrs. Pérez made sure that he was placed in the monolingual program because they consider that not enough English is taught in the bilingual programs, and English is what counts in this society. They, like Mr. and Mrs. Ortiz (Pito's parents), while valuing bilingualism, feel that Gordito can pick up the Spanish later on. Because of his early experience with Spanish as an infant, he can still with urging briefly sustain a conversation in Spanish (as he did when he played with Chico every day). However, he balks at using Spanish and switches back to English as soon as possible. He has no interest in being in a bilingual class.

block: Gordito is not permitted to stray far from his building without parental supervision. However, his is a first-floor window and functions for him (and his mother) as an extension of the block. From this vantage point, Gordito engages in conversation with others, plays catch, and generally serves as a sentinel who is aware of the whereabouts of others on the block. Moreover, his stoop is the focal meeting point for the boys' groups, both younger and older. One reason for this is that the sidewalk widens in front of his building providing a good ball court and a place for bike-riding. It is also the shadiest spot in the block, and popular among many of the women. Because of the location of his apartment, Gordito has much more contact with block activities than other children who are under equally strict supervision. He spends hours surveying the action and riding his bicycle in a tight circle in front of his building while his parents watch him from the window or from the stoop.

As described in Chico's vignette, Gordito and Chico had a very close relationship despite their language differences. Gordito was also enamoured of Chico's sister, Juanita, and would often proclaim his love for her (in both languages) at the top of his lungs from across the street. But it was Chico's younger sister Iris (who was in Gordito's kindergarten class), who showed interest in him. Ever since Chico, Iris, and Juanita moved to the Bronx, Gordito has been forced to play indoors much more, as the older boys in the boys' group will not tolerate him.

However, he, more than many of the other children, has had experiences outside of El Barrio (due most likely to his status as an "only" child with older parents): he goes shopping off the block sometimes with his parents and has made several trips upstate to an English-only summer camp.

school: When we started our study, Gordito was in a monolingual kindergarten with Pito and Iris, neither of whom he had much to do with at that time. He is not an exemplary student, as he has genuine problems in following directions and remembering things in school, and had not yet succeeded in learning to read by the end of our observation period. He has been kept back this year to repeat the first grade. He has also accumulated a reputation as a rowdy element in class, though it is hard to reconcile this role with his pleasant disposition at home. His classmates say that he swears a lot; the bilingual coordinator, who had him for gym class, refers to him as an "interesting" case. During the summer of the second year of our study, he attended a reading tutorial program at a nearby church in order to improve his reading skills. This was initiated by Mr. and Mrs. Pérez, not the school authorities, who claimed there were no such programs in the area during the summer. Recent reports indicate that the program helped, for he is finally acquiring literacy.

With his amiable nature, Gordito has a number of friends in school, most of whom he addresses in English, though he does permit children who wish to use Spanish to do so when speaking to him. In such situations, he generally responds in English. He was one of the few children who tried to communicate with Iris during her first difficult year in the monolingual kindergarten, listening to her rare requests for clarification and indicating what was necessary. We did not at that time observe him to speak to her in Spanish, but he may have code-switched occasionally for her benefit, as he did with her brother on the block.

Josie and Dorcas Martínez -- Josie and her twin Dorcas were five years old when we first encountered them. They will be considered together here because of their great similarities, both physical and linguistic.

The girls are identical and usually dressed the same to further the confusion. We depended on different clues to tell them apart -- their language preferences (though as we will see, this difference faded away), number of missing teeth (this, too, eventually corrected itself), the color of their shoes or hair ribbons (which tended to vary), or their motor behavior (each excells at different tasks). Mrs. Martínez claims that she too mixes them up on occasion; however, we have observed her to identify them with their backs turned at a distance.

home: The twins, unlike the other children in our sample, do not actually live on the block but in the sixteen-story housing project next to the school, which makes for very different home and community experiences. For one thing, the distance from their ninth floor apartment to the street discourages their mother from allowing them more than minimal contact with the outside world, and then only under strict supervision. These twins are real "lames" compared to the other kids in the sample, as they are virtually confined to their apartment after school hours, and are limited to playing with each other and their family members.

They live with their parents, teenaged siblings, and a cousin recently arrived from Puerto Rico. Both parents favor Spanish but have fair English skills, and Mrs. Martínez in particular code-switches with great frequency. Their older siblings favor English, while the cousin speaks almost no English at all. This combination of influences should be expected to provide ample models for English and Spanish, and indeed the girls have good skills in both languages. However, surprisingly enough, despite the fact that they have been inseparable since birth, when we met the Martínez twins they had opposite language preferences, Josie preferring English, and Dorcas, Spanish. Now both tend to favor English, (though they are expert at rapid switching) despite their placement in the bilingual program. Josie is actually more vehement about the value of being bilingual than is her sister, though both have very positive feelings about the bilingual program.

block: As pointed out above, the twins do not live on the block. Life in the housing project makes for patterns of social interaction which differ from those of the general community. In high-rise buildings such as this one, the distance from the street is considered great enough so that leaving the building becomes something of an event, unlike the situation on the block where many apartments function as extensions of the block, and where goings and comings are frequent and access to apartments relatively easy. In the projects there is no stoop to hang out on, most windows are too high to converse from, and there is a greater ethnic mix among the residents, a combination which does not make for extensive socializing. Thus, it is not surprising that the twins have no street knowledge or experience.

The girls know some of the children from the block who were in their classes, or recognize them from passing through the block on occasional shopping trips with their mother, but they do not play with any of the others in the sample, nor were they named as playmates. As mentioned above, they play primarily indoors or sometimes on the project playground which is contiguous with the school under their mother's close supervision. As most of the other children in the sample return directly to the block after school, the twins do not have much contact with them on the playground either. Their playmates on the project playground are generally from their bilingual class and Spanish-speaking, as are Mrs. Martínez' friends who sit with her and watch the children from the sideline benches.

school: We first observed the twins in the bilingual kindergarten, but only Dorcas had been in that class from the beginning. Josie had been originally put in the monolingual kindergarten (following the policy of splitting up siblings, especially twins), but was moved in with her sister at the request of their parents, who felt strongly that participation in the bilingual program was more important than avoiding sibling rivalry in the classroom. It is very likely that this early difference in their education, although only six months in duration, accounts for the initial discrepancy in language preference and ability, given that everything else in their background was exactly the same. There is also the possibility that individual differences of personality, intelligence, or language sensitivity may have intervened, as there do exist certain other differences of achievement or aptitutde. At present, the girls favor English, both in terms of frequency of use and attitude.

The twins are very advanced for their age in terms of academic ability. Both were already reading in Spanish and some English when we first met them in kindergarten. They have an academically-supportive home environment, with more books and records than the other sample children. The Martínez family puts great stress on academic achievement, and their older siblings help them with their schoolwork. Even when kept out of school for two weeks when their mother was hospitalized, the girls were able to keep up with their schoolwork. They are exceptionally fond of reading and go through every book so thoroughly as to memorize it.

They spent most of their time in first grade being bored with the class assignments. After Mrs. Martínez complained to us and we spoke to the teacher and principal, the girls were given extra work to do on a more advanced level. (The teacher had been aware that the girls were not using their full potential in the class but had thirty others to worry about). Since the termination of our fieldwork period, the situation has reversed itself, and the girls are once again bored in their second grade class and becoming disruptive.

The twins are not liked by some of the other children in their class who (not without some justification) consider them conceited about their abilities and snobby toward their classmates. Iris, in particular, dislikes them greatly since they used to tease and act superior toward her in the first grade class, where they represented the top of the group and she represented the bottom.

Baby Alvarez -- Baby was seven when our study started.[16] He is a good-natured, well-mannered boy who is a great favorite among the girls his age.

home: Baby lived on the northwest corner of the block near the banca, one of the focal gathering points on the block. His family used to own the candy store next to the parlor. Baby's parents were both born in Puerto Rico and speak Spanish primarily, although both understand English (Mr. Alavarez uses some at his present job). Baby is the youngest of four children, who communicate among themselves primarily in English. His mother belongs to a very large extended family on the block, and Baby maintains close contact with two aunts who are rapid code-switchers, several cousins who prefer English, and his grandmother, a monolingual Spanish speaker.

Baby clearly has good comprehension in Spanish, but despite his rather extensive exposure to it in the family domain, we never observed him to carry on an extended conversation solely in Spanish. He has never had any formal training in the language and cannot read or write it. He sometimes even uses English with his parents, although most of their own conversations are carried out in Spanish. We were not able to ascertain his or his parents' attitudes toward bilingualism or bilingual education.

block: Baby spent a lot of time outdoors when he lived on the block. He was very popular with the girls' group (among whom more Spanish is used), and interacted with them more often than with the boys' though he was also accepted by the older boys in that group. The Spanish he used with the girls was manifested in terms of code-switching, whereas with the boys, he could stick to English only. Both Juanita and Flaquita, who are among those with best skills in both languages, claimed him simultaneously as their boyfriend and engaged in many arguments and rivalries around him. One of his older sisters was their close friend, which drew him even more closely into the girls' group.

school: Baby was in a monolingual second grade class along with Ramón and Debby when we began. He was thought of as an exemplary student by his teacher, not so much for academic excellence (he is an average student) but rather for his behavior, responsibility, and attitude toward school. We did not observe him to form any particular friendships at school, and he went home for lunch, so we could not observe him on the playground with the others. We were unable to question him about his friends as we did for the other children.

Ramón Rodríguez -- Ramón was seven years old at the outset of the project, and his family had just moved away from the block, the fifth such move in the area for them in Ramón's lifetime. Since he continued at the same school and we had a close relationship with the Rodríguez family from our previous work on the block, we decided to retain him in the sample.

home: Ramón lives with his mother, step-father, three sisters, and baby brother. Mr. and Mrs. Rodríguez were both born in Puerto Rico but came to the U.S. at an early age. Both Spanish and English are used interchangeably in the house, and Ramón's parents express an interest in having their children be bilingual. Mrs. Rodríguez. in particular, is a highly skilled code-switcher, though both she and Mr. Rodríguez consider English their stronger language. They would have placed Ramón in a bilingual program, but were never consulted. Ramón has a great interest in military matters which his step-father, a Vietnam veteran, fosters by telling him combat stories and sending him to a military cadet club after school. Black and Puerto Rican children from the area attend, and only English is spoken at the club.

Ramón favors English overwhelmingly though he can understand Spanish well and speak it when necessary, for instance with his baby brother and with his grandparents, who speak only Spanish and whom, as mentioned above, he visits daily. He claims an aversion to Spanish which he admits is mainly due to fear of failure, and says he would not even consider being in a bilingual class. The fact that his closest contacts, the cadets, speak only English may help explain his strong preference for it despite considerable exposure to Spanish in the home via code-switching (unlike Pito, for example). Ramón's English is considerably Black-influenced (as is that of his father), although he has very negative views of Blacks.

block: By the time our observation focussed on the community, Ramón's grandparents had also moved from the block, and his contacts with the other children in our sample were no longer regular. Most of his time now is spent at home, at his grandmother's house nearby, or with the military cadets a few blocks away, with whom he occasionally goes on camping trips upstate. He sometimes interacts with María, his cousin, especially on his grandmother's block (where Maria's and Flaquita's grandmothers also live). Ramón knows many of the other children on the block, especially the members of the boys' group, but interacts less with them at this point than with the cadets. Almost without exception, Ramón uses English with his peers on the streets and in school.

school: Though Ramón was in a monolingual second grade class along with Baby and Debbie at the outset of the project, he did not play with either one in school or outside. He has very little interest in what school has to offer him, and only wants to finish quickly so he can enlist in the army as did his father and step-father. He is a very lively child and considered a troublemaker by his teachers. This year he is repeating the third grade at another school.

In school Ramón has very little opportunity to speak Spanish except in infrequent code-switched asides to classmates. He interacts primarily with two Puerto Rican boys who also favor English.

Debbie Ramírez -- Debbie was seven years old at the outset of the study. She is quiet, well-behaved child with a long history of chronic illness.

home: Debbie is an only child. Her parents separated soon after her birth, and Debbie has been raised simultaneously by her mother who lives in the center of the north side of the block (near the banca and hydrant),and her grandparents, who live in the only inhabited building on an abandoned block nearby. She alternates between the two houses. Mrs. Ramírez, born and raised in East Harlem, prefers to speak in English but has good Spanish skills, and is one of the best code-switchers on the block. Despite this constant switching, she claims to have raised Debbie in English. Debbie's grandmother, Mrs. Cartagena, could be characterized as a balanced bilingual, having been in this county for more than 40 years, but she feels that Spanish is her true language. She speaks to Debbie primarily in English but often code-switches into Spanish.

Debbie rarely uses more than isolated words in Spanish and in fact resists using the language because she doesn't feel comfortable in it, though she can understand it fairly well. Her English is heavily influenced by Black English which may be due to her close friendship with a Black girl at school, to the fact that her best friend at home plays with Black children, or to her mother whose English shows evidence of Black influence. Debbie spends most of her time in her grandmother's apartment playing with the dogs, watching T.V (English programs only), and doing homework under Mrs. Cartagena's supervision.

block: Debbie has few close friends. Because of her recurrent illness, she has been in and out of hospitals all her life, which has confined her activities to some extent and contributed to a very poor attendance record in school. She is not connected with any of the other children in the sample; in fact, she was never observed to play with anyone on the block (not even her classmate Ramón), although she does live there at least part of the time. In her grandmother's building, however, she does play with one slightly younger girl who lives upstairs and with that girl's older brother. All three favor English, and the two neighbors have several Black friends. Debbie also plays with a few girls her age in nearby Green Park, though none are very close friends. Like Ramón, she always uses English when playing with her friends though all are Puerto Rican and understand Spanish.

school: Debbie was in the same monolingual second grade class as Ramón and Baby when we met her. She is a very quiet child in school who always obeys the rules and never volunteers an answer in class. Her teachers view her as cooperative and conscientious, though they deplore her attendance record. It is very rare that Debbie uses anything but English in dealing with either her teachers or her fellow students in school. Her closest friend in school is a Black girl who speaks only English. She knows very few children in the bilingual program and has no desire to be in that program.

Indio González -- Indio was seven years old when we first met him. He is a very fat, large boy who is teased for his girth by his peers though respected as being pretty smart. He is the only child of non-Puerto Rican descent in the sample, but has lived on this block and played with Puerto Rican children all his life. While Mr. and Mrs. González' Spanish is typical of that heard in their native Central America (e.g. far more (s) retention, different lexical items), Indio's variety appears from informal observation to be indistinguishable from that of the children with whom he interacts. (Mr. González himself has commented on this, stating that he has often had to correct Indio on his pronunciation and grammar; however, he admits that these admonitions to speak "good" Spanish have not been very successful.

home: Like Gordito, Indio is a change-of-life baby and the youngest of five children, only one other of whom lives at home. His parents have been in the U.S. for about fourteen years and understand some English, but are overwhelmingly Spanish speaking. They are greatly concerned about the evil influences of the street and keep him close to home, usually indoors playing with his many electronic toys or directly in front of the house riding his bike.

Indio has very good Spanish skills but favors English despite his almost monolingual Spanish home environment and enrollment in the bilingual program at school. He says that he does not like speaking Spanish and tries to avoid it even with his parents who are strong advocates of both bilingualism and bilingual education. The Gonzálezes understand enough English to make such behavior possible (though they do not often accede to it). They are insistent that Indio not forget his Spanish and often direct him to use Spanish when speaking to them. He uses both languages with his siblings.

block: Because of his parents' protectiveness, Indio rarely leaves the immediate area of his building. His contacts with ogher children are largely restricted to members of the boys' group (particularly the older ones not in our sample) who usually congregate in front of his or Gordito's house next-door. He knows most of the other children in the sample, especially Gordito (whom he openly scorns if better company is available), but rarely crosses the street to hang out with the girls, not even to play under the hydrant. The most mobility he has is on his bicycle, though Mr. González strictly regulates how far he can go down the street.

school: Indio was in the same bilingual second grade as Flaquita when we began. His teachers consider him to be very bright but undisciplined and even lazy. He is in the highest level reading group. He likes to be the center of attention and is disruptive when the teacher doesn't call on him, but when called on, he usually knows the answer. He has a poor attendance record since his mother tends to keep him out to accompany and translate for her in her dealings with English-speaking officials. He generally goes home for lunch with his father since Mr. and Mrs. González do not care for what they consider to be the undisciplined and raucous atmosphere of the they school cafeteria. At school he has several friends, in particular another very large boy who is always assigned to stand in line with him. Indio uses English with most of his friends, in and out of school, although he does report speaking Spanish with several children he considers to be close to him in class (not surprisingly considering the number of Spanish-dominant children in the bilingual program).

Flaquita Sánchez -- Flaquita was seven when our project began. She is a very bubbly and sociable little girl with many friends, both male and female.

home: Flaquita lives with her mother and older sister in a second floor apartment near the old fire house. Mrs. Sánchez is almost entirely monolingual in Spanish, although she does understand enough English to get by on a daily basis. She spends a lot of time socializing in front of the banca with a group of Spanish-speaking women. Flaquita's sister attends a special school for the handicapped where she is taught in English only, and she, though the eldest and closest to her mother, uses primarily English, except when directly addressing her. Mrs. Sánchez has raised the girls by herself with the help of her very large extended family who provide models for the whole gamut of community language use (from Spanish-only to code-switching to English-only). The linguistic diversity of the family is reflected in Flaquita's language use: she is one of the most skilled speakers in both Spanish and English among the children. Mrs. Sánchez' parents' apartment on a nearby block provides a central meeting place for the entire clan, and a domain in which Spanish predominates, as the grandparents are addressed only in that language. Both Mrs. Sánchez and her parents are firm in their belief that the children should speak both languages well, and favor bilingual education for all children.

Flaquita and her sister are close and spend a good deal of time together inside the house avidly watching television (mainly English programs) and listening to records (all in English.) Flaquita also spends a good deal of time off the block at her grandmother's house playing with her older female cousin. In both cases, primarily English is spoken with liberal code-switching into Spanish.

block: Flaquita has many friends on the block. She is an integral part of the girls' group which congregates primarily near the banca or the fire hydrant, but enjoys considerable mobility within the confines of the block and can be seen on either side of the street (though she tends to stay with the other girls). She does not play much with her older sister outside on the block (probably because of her physical inability to keep up with Flaquita's constant activity). She, like Juanita, was quite infatuated with Baby when he lived on the block, and the two girls carried on long, loud arguments in both Spanish and English about his supposed romantic preferences.

With the exception of María, Flaquita is the most bilingual child in our sample, although this is not reflected in her school language assessment test scores which indicate much less English proficiency than we have noted in her. We have observed her to use both Spanish and English in many different interactions in all domains with great proficiency and ease. She seems equally comfortable in either language as evidenced by her ability to interact with many different children and adults. She judges herself to be a "perfect" speaker of both languages.

school: Flaquita was in a bilingual second grade class with Indio when our study began. She is very demure and quiet in school, and her teachers consider her an average student (except in math where she does very poorly). She is in the highest reading group in her class along with Indio, but has a dismal attendance record and is often out. Mrs.

Sánchez keeps her home whenever she requires assistance or an interpreter, or whenever her sister is feeling poorly. Flaquita has many friends in school with whom she uses both English and Spanish. She is very glad to be in the bilingual program and enjoys being able to use both languages in the classroom.

Herminio Navarro -- Herminio is the only recent arrival from Puerto Rico in our sample and the only child who was not raised in East Harlem. He was ten and had only been in El Barrio one month when we began our study.

A very well-behaved and gentle boy, Herminio is solicitous of his mother and older people in general. The Navarro family is very religious and goes on periodic Catholic pilgrimages and all-night church vigils in the Bronx, and sometimes even in upstate New York. Of all the children, he is the one who spends the most time in church, a domain which is very supportive of Spanish language use (see Pedraza 1981).

home: Herminio lives near the bodega on the southeast part of the block in a sixth floor walk-up with his parents and one of his three teenage brothers. His parents were born in Puerto Rico and speak only Spanish with any degree of confidence, although Mrs. Navarro does know some English from a previous visit. The Navarros are delighted that bilingual education is available and see it as an important aid in maintaining Spanish in the community, as well as preventing school failure and retention. As would be expected, Herminio was for all intents and purposes a monolingual Spanish speaker in the initial stages of the project. The language used at home, the books and newspapers in the house, and the T.V. shows and radio programs favored by the family are all Spanish. All of his education until he came to the U.S. was also in Spanish.

This might help explain Herminio's virtual isolation from other children and his (voluntary) confinement to his house at the beginning of the project. He was afraid to go out and initiate friendships or get himself into situations where he might have been required to use English. He perceived his environment to demand more English than it actually did, and repeatedly expressed surprise at hearing Spanish spoken in public places, such as the library or the park. As a result, he spent most of his time with his mother, watching Spanish T.V. hour after hour or watching the other children from his window.

block: When Herminio first arrived in El Barrio, he found it difficult to adjust to his new urban environment and make friends. While he lives in the same building as Linda, he does not know her at all. He lives near Conejo as well, who also arrived from Puerto Rico rather late and is near his age. However, the two boys are very different in personality, and they have never developed a relationship.

Early on we classified Herminio as a "lame" -- he only went out to run errands or go shopping with his mother. We got him a library card and took him to the park on various occasions, both of which helped him make his first explorations. Now he has taken the situation into his own hands and is developing socially and linguistically by leaps and bounds, changing from a completely monolingual Spanish speaker whose only contact with English had been through a course he despised in Puerto Rico to a child who uses English with increasing frequency and ease, particularly in school, where he has acquired English terms both in the classroom and on the playground. This is particularly evident now that he has begun code-switching, indicating the tremendous growth of his English vocabulary during the past two years. Indeed, this progression is precisely what we observed with Iris when she began acquiring productive skills in English.

Our latest observations indicate that Herminio is making friends on an adjoining block and beginning to flirt with girls and hang out with other boys his age. He recently joined a boys club where he made a new friend who was raised in East Harlem and is teaching him a lot of street wisdom. He has also adopted a puppy which brings him out on the block regularly in order to walk it.

school: When Herminio first entered the school and was placed in the bilingual fifth grade, he was assigned to another student who served as a kind of coach, prompting him and explaining class activities carried out in English. As Herminio is fairly conscientious about his studies, and the Navarros make sure that his homework is always completed, he hasdone well considering the language barrier he faced initially even in a bilingual class.

(As we saw in Chapter 2, the design of the program in this school splits time evenly between the two languages by the fifth grade). He made friends first with a Dominican classmate who spoke only Spanish with him. Now he hangs out with boys who favor English.

Linda Padilla -- Linda was eleven when we began our work. She is a very attractive, mature, and self-possessed young girl, who is in the somewhat unusual position of being raised by a sister only seven years her senior.

home: Linda was born in Puerto Rico but came to N.Y.C. as an infant. She returned once when she was six years old for a short time in order to cure a bad case of asthma, one of four children in the sample who have ever visited Puerto Rico. She is the youngest of eight, and her family is well known on the block and has long resided in the area. Mrs. Padilla died not too long ago, and Mr. Padilla (who had earlier been separated from his wife) lives in the Bronx. Linda and her 18-year old sister Lydia now live together on the block alone, along with Lydia's boyfriend, whose family regularly checks in on them. Lydia, who left school before finishing, constantly urges and pushes Linda to work hard and get somewhere in the world.

When the entire family lived together, Spanish was used every day in the home, as Mrs. Padilla spoke only Spanish and Mr. Padilla preferred Spanish despite some knowledge of both languages. The siblings used English among themselves but would use Spanish with their parents. Now the two sisters use English almost exclusively, although they do code-switch on occasion and use Spanish when the necessity arises, e.g. with older adults (like Lydia's boyfriend's mother) or with the little children Lydia babysits to earn extra money. Both are apologetic about their Spanish and feel it is very poor; however, they have both been observed to function quite fluently and idiomatically in that language.

block: Linda's building is located centrally on the block, and her stoop near the bodega at the southeast end provides a meeting place for adult and adolescent groups. However, she does not interact much with them and not at all with any of the other children in the sample. Her sister does not approve of her hanging out, though she does permit

Linda to go out for specific purposes, such as to meet friends. For this, and other reasons, Linda occupies an isolated positon in the children's network. She is far more mature and studious than the only other girl her age, María, and she has nothing to do with her. Her only close friend on the block is a somewhat older girl, with whom she interacts primarily in English. Linda spends most of her time indoors, doing homework, reading, watching T.V., helping her sister with housework, or playing with her cat.

school: Linda is in a program for the gifted which is taught in English, as are all such classes in the school. In both her fifth and sixth grade classes, she was considered to be an exemplary student, very responsible and hard-working though often absent due to family problems. She was selected as playground monitor at one point but quit because she did not enjoy having to boss around the other children. As indicated earlier, much of her motivation comes from her sister who keeps track of her homework and demands accountability in terms of studying and after school commitments like glee club. Linda has three close girlfriends in her class all of whom are Puerto Rican. We never observed her to speak any Spanish in class, though outside on the playground she would occasionally code-switch, mainly when referring to items which are difficult to translate (e.g. bodega, sancocho) or when attempting to comment about or keep something secret from non-Spanish speaking children or teachers

María Aviles -- María was eleven years old at the outset of the study. She is a cute though overweight girl with a flirtatious and giggly manner.

home: María lives on the third floor of the same building as Gordito with her mother, step-father, and two of her younger half-siblings. Mrs. Aviles, who may be emotionally disturbed, shows little interest in either her house or her children, and they prefer to spend their time in their grandmother's apartment where conditions are much more comfortable and home-like. María's grandparents (Mr. and Mrs. Méndez), who until recently lived next to the banca, are now located three blocks away on the same block where Ramón and Flaquita's grandmothers live. For years María lived primarily with Mrs. Méndez, as was the case when we first met her. She (like Debby) now splits her time between the two houses but prefers to be with her grandmother.

María's parents both speak English and Spanish well. Mrs. Aviles is a proficient code-switcher; Mr. Aviles, though rarely at home, speaks mainly Spanish. Her grandparents are nearly Spanish monolingual, though both understand and use some English, Mr. Méndez (who claims English fluency) more so than Mrs. Méndez. Mrs. Méndez and her sister (María's great-aunt who also lives in the Méndez apartment) are the two strongest Spanish models in the family. María's ability to communicate well in the language is due primarily to their influence and corrections. However, she says she prefers to speak in English and is indeed more skilled in that language. She feels that her Spanish is poor, but this is an underestimation as she can sustain entire conversations in Spanish and often does so when interacting with her older relatives and her little sister at home. With her parents and her brother, she alternates between English and Spanish.

block: María is the hub of most activity within the children's network. She has contacts with almost every child in the sample but spends most of her time with younger children. For this and other reasons (such as her lack of physical development), she is considered rather immature by children her age, like Linda, as well as by adults. She used to spend a lot of time under the hydrant, playing skellies, swimming in the pool in Central Park, and just talking with other children or adults on the stoop. Recently, she has withdrawn from some of the street activity, as her parents have been cracking down on her now that she is thirteen and supposed to be a señorita. At present, she can be found most often restlessly watching the action from her third floor window rather than participating in it.

With the children on the block, Maria is able both to accomodate their preferences for English and Spanish, as well as to code-switch profusely within the same interaction.

school: In school María is quiet and obedient although Mrs. Méndez has told us that she used to be the class cut-up. Her parents forced her to work harder when she was almost left back a few years ago. In her monolingual sixth grade classroom, she did not allow herself to be distracted by other students, even to the point of rejecting their overtures, since her parents had warned her to apply herself to her studies. She tried to play the role of goody-goody, in direct contrast to her rowdy behavior once she stepped out onto the playground, where though not a leader, she was an integral part of the play activities of both sixth grade classes. Despite all this application, María is only an indifferent student, and now in junior high, she has begun to slip again, another reason why Mr. and Mrs. Aviles are increasingly restricting her activity.

Little of María's bilingual ability can be seen in the classroom. She uses primarily English with her friends in school.

For a short time during her second grade year, she was enrolled in a bilingual mini-school. She says she has always wanted to be in a bilingual class in order to get more practice and training in Spanish. However, her English skills were always too good to qualify for bilingual schooling under the Aspira consent decree, and her Spanish has had to wait until junior high where she now receives 45 minutes a day. The last report card we saw indicated C-level work in that course.

Conejo Flores -- Conejo was eleven when we met him. He can be found out on the street most of the time, but is not a typical street kid. He views himself as the head of the family since his father's death, and spends a lot of time working at odd jobs to supplement their income.

home: Conejo was born in Puerto Rico and came to N.Y.C. at the age of six, the only other child aside from Herminio to have migrated after infancy. He and his family first lived with his aunt nearby and had just moved to the block at the outset of the study. He lives with his mother and older sister on the southeast corner where the adult and adolescent groups congregate.

Conejo has good skills in Spanish as well as English, undoubtedly the combined result of his relatively late arrival, his mother's Spanish monolingualism, and his placement in a bilingual class upon arrival from Puerto Rico. He says he prefers to use Spanish, but is actually observed to use mainly English outside the home. Mrs. Flores is proud of her son's English ability but also wants him to maintain his Spanish, and views the bilingual program as a good means of doing so.

block: Most of Conejo's friends are Puerto Rican and Black adolescent boys, especially the group which plays basketball in Green Park (also where Debby plays, though they do not know each other). He has several other favorite hang-out spots just around the corner from the block -- the pizza shop where he often eats and plays pinball, and the rug store where he sometimes works. He also spends a lot of time among the adults in the area who sometimes give him work: the Greek street vendors who have taught him to swear in Greek, the owner of the rug store, and the manager of the supermarket. he is considered very resourceful and responsible, a reputation which has not harmed, and actually helped, his peer status, as he usually has some money to spend. This past summer he took a course in judo at a gym in midtown Manhattan, further proof of his extreme and quite atypical mobility. He is also a good dancer and well-regarded by the girls his age despite a tendency towards being overweight.

When among his friends, Conejo uses English with an occasional switch into Spanish. His English is heavily Black-influenced which is not surprising given that among his basketball buddies are some Black youths. He is also very knowledgeable about the DJ raps which are popular among adolescents, particularly Black adolescents.

school: Conejo was in a bilingual sixth grade when we met him and is now at a nearby junior high. He was well-regarded by his teacher and was often left in charge when the teacher had to leave the room. He enjoyed being in the bilingual program; however, he had severe problems with reading (his teacher told us that his English reading level in the sixth grade was only 3.9). He was left back in the fifth grade but never managed to catch up in reading. In school Conejo would use both languages according to the demands of the teacher and sometimes switch to her annoyance, jokingly saying that he "talked bilingüe". He would generally use English in any asides to his friends, though we did observe him to code-switch with them as well. This code-switching, as well as his placement in the bilingual class, may account for his reporting more Spanish usage in school and in the community than we actually observed him to use.

4.5 Freedom of Language Choice

By means of the individual portraits, we have reviewed the sometimes competing, sometimes reinforcing influences on language choice exercised on each of these children in three settings: home, school and block. In what follows we examine more closely the interactions of the children in each of the settings along with the language use reported and observed. Figures 2-4 present each child in relation to other family, community, and sample members.

In the home setting, for example, we have seen that similar demographic and attitudinal characteristics of both parent and child do not necessarily lead to the same linguistic outcome on the part of that child; compare Conejo and Herminio, whose parents were both born in Puerto Rico, who arrived in the United States after infancy, and who have positive attitudes towards Spanish use, but different current language preferences. Conversely, very different backgrounds may yield similar results in the child's language preference: Pito and Indio come from primarily English and Spanish-speaking households respectively, yet both currently favor English).

Within the home environment, it is clear that influence on language choice is exercised solely by the child's parents, relatives, and friends of their parents who visit frequently.[18] With only one exception [19], no two sample children, even ones who were close friends on the block, were observed in two years of fieldwork to play together in one of their homes, unless they were

Figure 2a REPORTED LANGUAGE USE IN HOME

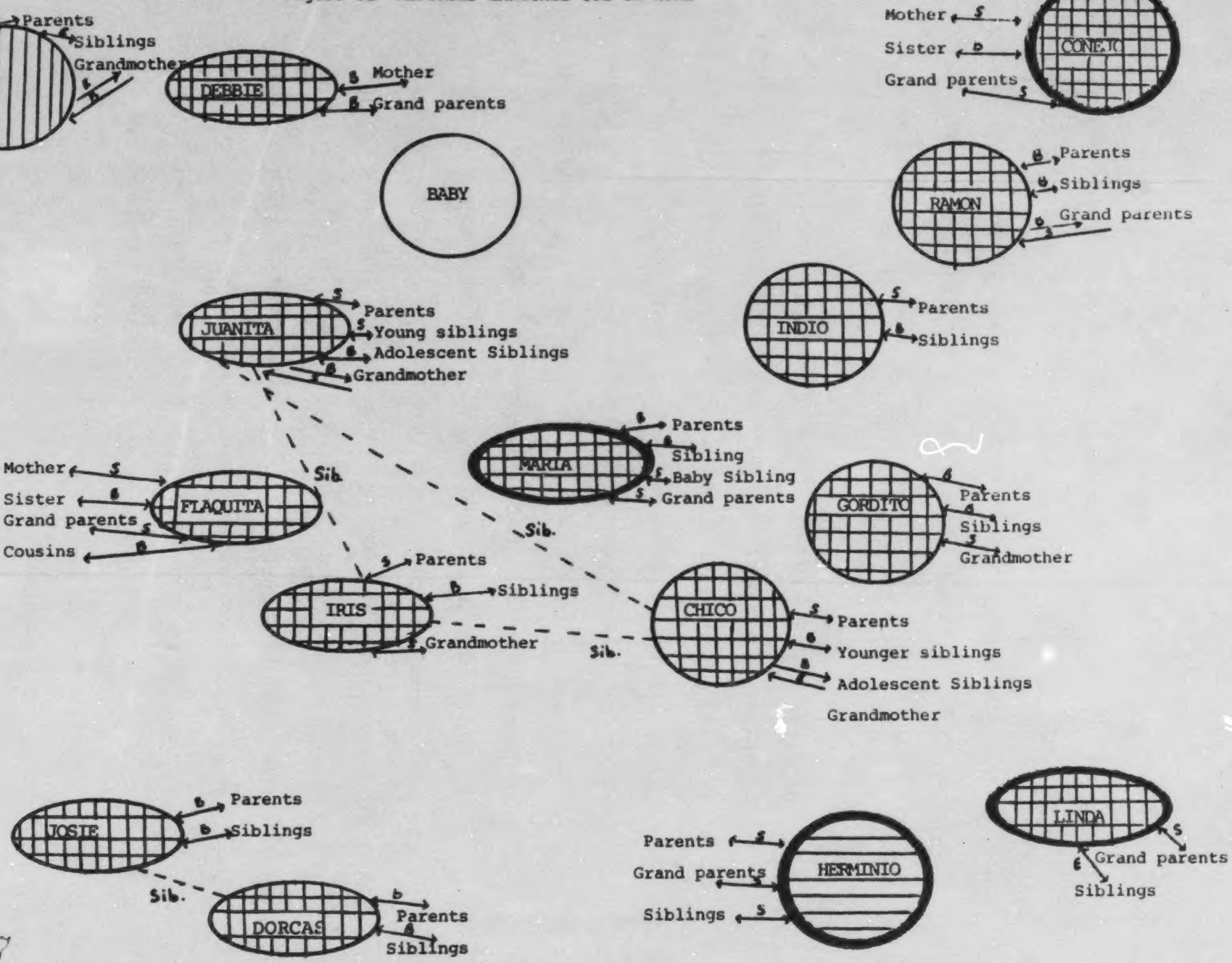
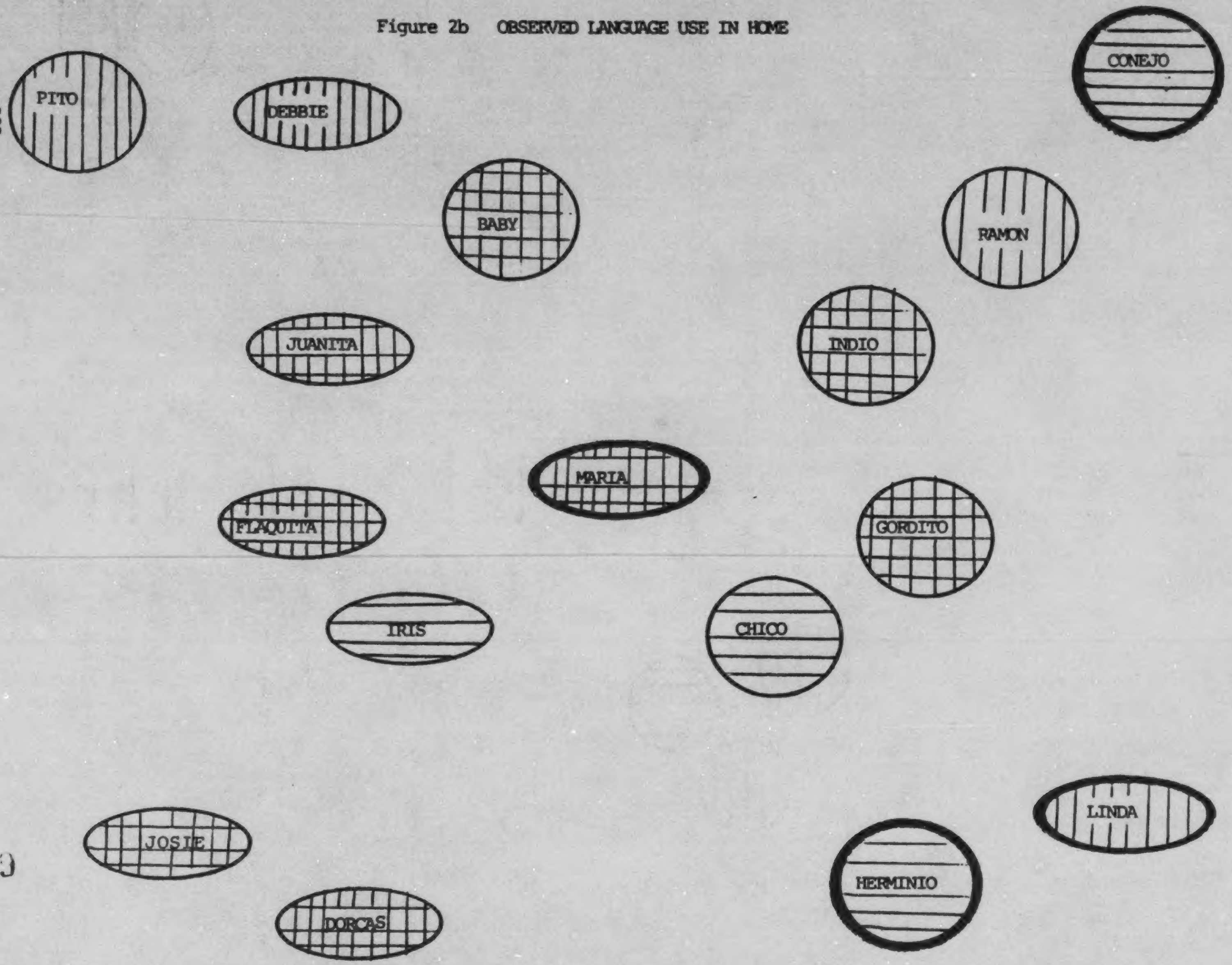

Parents
Siblings
Grandmother
PITO
DEBBIE
Mother
Grand parents
BABY
Mother
Sister
Grand parents
CONEJO
RAMON
Parents
Siblings
Grand parents
INDIO
Parents
Siblings
JUANITA
Parents
Young siblings
Adolescent Siblings
Grandmother
MARIA
Parents
Sibling
Baby Sibling
Grand parents
Mother
Sister
Grand parents
Cousins
FLAQUITA
Sib.
Sib.
GORDITO
Parents
Siblings
Grandmother
IRIS
Parents
Siblings
Grandmother
Sib.
CHICO
Parents
Younger siblings
Adolescent Siblings
Grandmother
JOSIE
Parents
Siblings
Sib.
DORCAS
Parents
Siblings
Parents
Grand parents
Siblings
HERMINIO
LINDA
Grand parents
Siblings

Figure 2b OBSERVED LANGUAGE USE IN HOME


CONEJO
PITO
DEBBIE
BABY
RAMON
JUANITA
INDIO
MARIA
FLAQUITA
GORDITO
IRIS
CHICO
LINDA
JOSIE
HERMINIO
DORCAS

Legend for Figures 2 and 3

⬭	female
○	male
$\overset{\text{Sib.}}{- - - - - -}$	sibling link

$\xrightarrow{E}$	English	given	to	interactant
$\xrightarrow{S}$	Spanish	"	"	"
$\xrightarrow{B}$	both	"	"	"
$\xleftarrow{E}$	English	received	from	interactant
$\xleftarrow{S}$	Spanish	"	"	"
$\xleftarrow{B}$	both	"	"	"
$\xleftrightarrow{E}$	English	given	and	received
$\xleftrightarrow{S}$	Spanish	"	"	"
$\xleftrightarrow{B}$	both	"	"	"

uses primarily English overall in setting	▥
uses primarily Spanish overall in setting	▤
uses both overall in setting	▦

Figure 3a Children's naming of best friends in school & reported language spoken with each

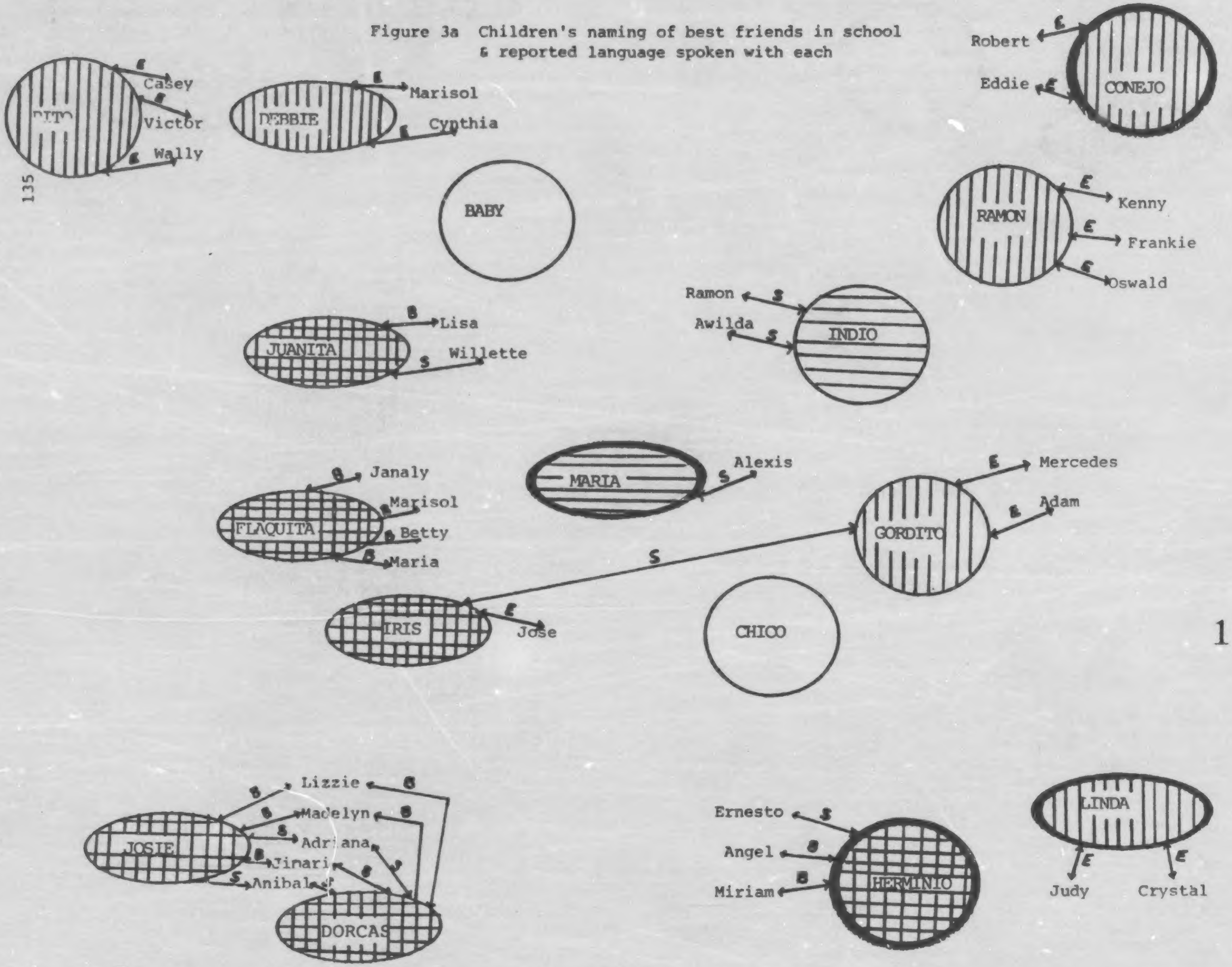

PITO
Casey
Victor
Wally
DEBBIE
Marisol
Cynthia
BABY
Robert
Eddie
CONEJO
RAMON
Kenny
Frankie
Oswald
Ramon
Awilda
INDIO
JUANITA
Lisa
Willette
MARIA
Alexis
Janaly
Marisol
Betty
Maria
FLAQUITA
Mercedes
Adam
GORDITO
IRIS
Jose
CHICO
Lizzie
Madelyn
Adriana
Jinari
Anibal
JOSIE
DORCAS
Ernesto
Angel
Miriam
HERMINIO
LINDA
Judy
Crystal
E
S
B

Figure 3b Observed Children's networks & language spoken with each in school

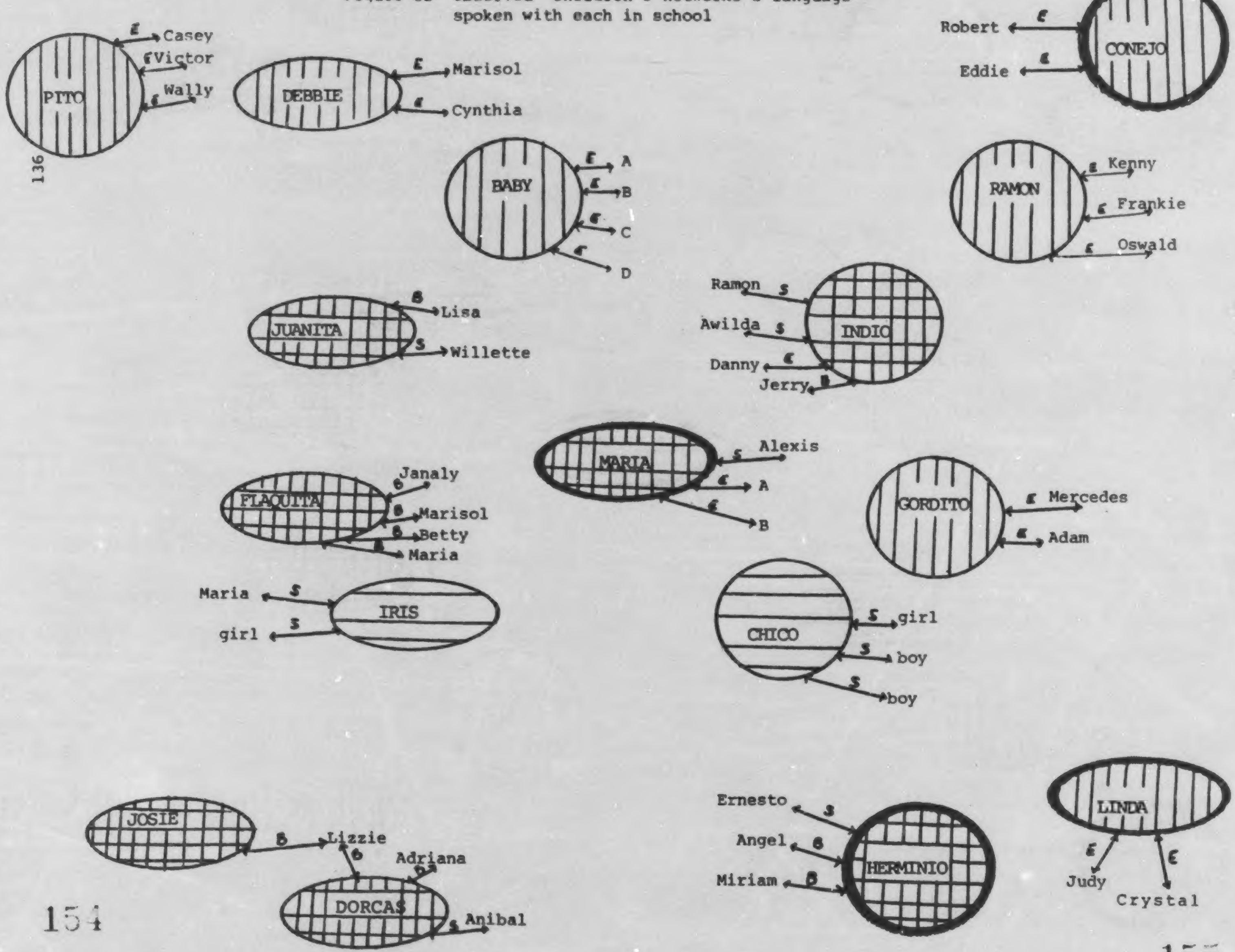
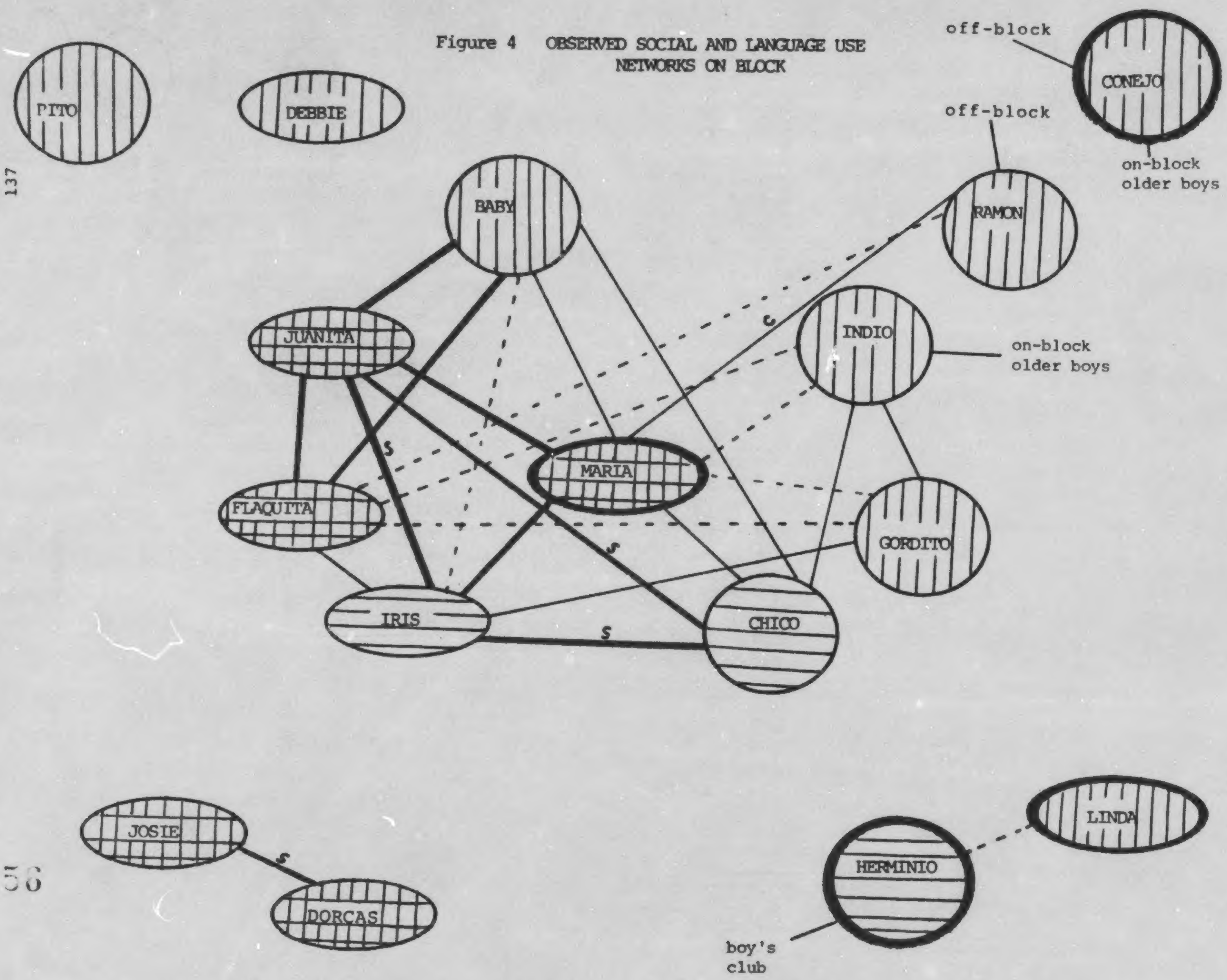

PITO
E Casey
E Victor
E Wally
DEBBIE
E Marisol
E Cynthia
CONEJO
E Robert
E Eddie
BABY
E A
E B
E C
E D
RAMON
E Kenny
E Frankie
E Oswald
JUANITA
B Lisa
S Willette
INDIO
S Ramon
S Awilda
E Danny
B Jerry
MARIA
S Alexis
E A
E B
FLAQUITA
B Janaly
B Marisol
B Betty
B Maria
GORDITO
E Mercedes
E Adam
IRIS
S Maria
S girl
CHICO
S girl
S boy
S boy
JOSIE
B Lizzie
DORCAS
B Lizzie
B Adriana
S Anibal
HERMINIO
S Ernesto
B Angel
B Miriam
LINDA
E Judy
E Crystal

Figure 4 OBSERVED SOCIAL AND LANGUAGE USE NETWORKS ON BLOCK


off-block
CONEJO
off-block
on-block
older boys
PITO
DEBBIE
BABY
RAMON
C
INDIO
on-block
older boys
JUANITA
S
MARIA
FLAQUITA
GORDITO
S
IRIS
CHICO
S
JOSIE
S
DORCAS
LINDA
HERMINIO
boy's
club

Legend for Figure 4

⬭ female

○ male

━ primary contacts

─ secondary contacts

╌ tertiary contacts *

S---siblings

C---cousins

▥ uses primarily English in interaction

▤ uses primarily Spanish in interaction

▦ uses both languages in interaction

---

[*] Primary contacts refer to siblings or best friends, i.e. children who were observed to interact together on a daily basis. Secondary contacts refer to children who may participate in the same peer group, but their contact is more intermittent. Tertiary refers to little or no interaction between sample members.

relatives. Although we observed parents accomodating to children's language choice on a few occasions (e.g. Mr. and Mrs. Pérez, Mrs. Martínez), the general rule is that when interacting with parents and older family members, the child reports and is observed accomodating to the language preference of his elders. This is in effect accomplished, as seen in Figures 2a and 2b, by speaking Spanish and English. We may characterize the home environment, then, as one in which the child enjoys only limited freedom of language choice: Spanish, either alone or in combination with English, is the most appropriate option in this setting. As we will see, however, parental influence only translates itself into a determinant of the child's overall language preference when coupled with yet another factor, that of isolation from block activity.

In the school, as mentioned in section 4.3, language choice is constrained by the intended language allocation of the program in which the child is placed. A number of factors are involved: 1) the teacher is perceived as a stronger authority figure than either the parents or the other adults with whom the child has contact, 2) the language preference of the teacher is consistent with the language of the program in which s/he teaches, 3) other participants in the class generally have language abilities reflecting the language of instruction, and finally, 4) most of the friendships formed in school are with one's classmates. However, as in the case of the home, sample children do not report nor are observed to enjoy close friendships with each other in this setting, even if they are in the same class, as may be seen in Figures 3a and 3b. This may be due to the facts that the particular sample children do not interact with each other in other settings, such as home or block, that friendship networks in the class tend to be limited to those in geographic proximity (i.e. tablemates), and finally, that the teacher is empowered to intervene even in these friendships if they threaten classroom discipline, by changing the children's seats or forbidding them to speak to each other.

Even during recess period in the schoolyard, when children are ostensibly free to cross classroom and grade boundaries (at least those in the third through sixth grades who are allowed to go out at lunch), social groupings tend to reflect those in the classroom. This further reinforces language choice in the direction of the program to which the child is assigned. We may characterize the setting of the school, then, as placing even more constraints on language choice than that of the home.

On the block, in contrast, apart from the general social constraints on language choice described in section 4.2, children are free to use either Spanish or English or both, due largely to the fact that models for all of these language modes are provided by the adults in the community, who carry out much of their social interaction in public. Observation of public interaction allows examination of a wide range of varieties, participants and activities. We thus turn to language use on the block as the most sensitive indicator of the child's overall language preference.

On the block, unlike the settings of school and home, members of the sample do interact with each other frequently. This may be seen in Figure 4, which displays graphically the observed and reported intensity and frequency of particular relationships and the marginality or centrality of specific children. There is also evidence of a complex relationship between language use, peer interaction patterns, and sex of the interactant.

Figure 4 is arranged in such a way as to cluster the most active participants, with the physical distance from the center serving as an indicator of the increasing degrees of peripherality. It is apparent from the diagram that not all the children in the sample do in fact participate in any block network. This is understandable since, as described above, the children were not chosen specifically on the basis of their peer connections, but to fulfill other criteria. Nonetheless, about half of the children are closely linked.

The upper and lower levels of the diagram hold those children whose connections to the others are most tenuous.[20] Most estranged from block interaction are the twins, Josie and Dorcas, who have never lived on the block and have contact with the others only through attendance in the same school. Pito, although a block resident, also interacts with the other children only in school. Debbie is in much the same position because she spends most of her time in her grandmother's house off the block.

Next in terms of distance is Herminio, who has only been on the block for a short time and is just beginning to socialize. Linda and Conejo are rather peripheral despite many years of residence on the block, because most of their contacts are with older children or adolescents from other blocks. Both are familiar to block residents, Conejo because of his many odd jobs around the community, and Linda because of her family's long history in the area and her older sister's job as local babysitter. Conejo is only indirectly connected to the boys' network through his interaction with their older siblings and friends. Though both he and Debbie spend a deal of time at Green Park, he has no contact with her either there or on the block.

The diagram only indicates on-block interactions of sample children with each other. Two children are designated with arrows pointing off the block because despite their lack of integration into the block network, they do carry on extensive interactions with children from other areas. As we will show below, it is extent of peer contact in general and not only with these specific children which appears to be the key determinant of language preference, at least for the children under investigation.

Nonetheless, it is clear that the majority of the children do participate in networks, and that these tend to be divided not only by sex (which is to be expected for children this age) but also by language preference. This is seen most clearly in Figure 1 which displays the sexual and geographical distribution of the children. In the girls' group, we have Juanita, Flaquita, Iris, and María with the less sustained participation of Baby (Flaquita and Juanita's) boyfriend) and of Chico (Iris' brother), who straddles both groups. The girls congregate mainly on the northwest part of the block, around the candy store, the banca, and the hydrant. Figure 4 indicates that it is among this group of girls that one is most likely to hear Spanish or vigorous code-switching, reflecting the behavior of older women on the block.

The boys' group is composed of Chico, Gordito, Indio, Ramón, Baby (on a less frequent basis), and some other older boys not in the sample. Most of their activity is centered on el ancho on the southwest part of the block. The boys' group is much more loosely linked than the girls' group, probably because two of its members, Indio and Gordito, are still closely tied to their parents and more restricted in their movements. It is also clear, in contrast to the girls, that the preferred language among boys, when interacting on the block, is English. However, this does not mean that language preference is a requirement for membership in either of these groups: this is evidenced by the position of Spanish-dominant Iris in the predominantly bilingual girls' group and Spanish-dominant Chico in the mainly English speaking boys' group. Indeed, we have seen that the closest connection in the boys' group is between Chico and Gordito, who have different overall language preferences. Baby's relationship with his two girlfriends Juanita and Flaquita cuts across both group and language preferences.

The boys' and girls' groups come together mainly to play under the hydrant spray or on the skellies board, though Chico vacilates between the two because of his close relationship with Gordito on the one hand, and his sibling links with Juanita and Iris on the other. He is further attracted to the girls' group because of the location of his stoop, which is near where the girls congregate, and his preference for Spanish, which the girls are more likely to accommodate than are the boys.

María is a central figure in both children's networks and has contacts with almost all of the others. This is probably due not only to her age (she is the oldest child in the sample who is not peripheral to block interaction), but also, undoubtedly, to her skill in both languages. It would indeed be odd to find a child engaged in such close interaction with so many others, even those of the opposite sex, without the ability to accommodate to eventual differences in language preference. This is true for other central children, Flaquita, and Juanita, although our sample size and distribution do not permit us to draw any firm conclusions, as they are also girls, whom we have seen to engage in more bilingual usage than boys.

We next examine whether the factor of peer involvement is in any way predictive of language use for the other children in the sample (Table 2). We designate as "lame" those children who either voluntarily or through force have little contact with the other children or block life in general. "Streetwise" refers to those who spend a good deal of time outside of the home environment.

"Lame"

	Home Lang.[21]	Lg. used most in all settings	School Program
Pito	E	E	E
Iris	S	S	S
Josie	B	B	S
Dorcas	B	B	S
Debbie	B	E	E
Herminio	S	S	S
Linda	E	E	E

"Streetwise"

	Home Lang.	Lg. used most in all settings	School Program
Chico	S	S	S
Juanita	S	B	S
Gordito	B	E	E
Baby	S	E	E
Ramón	B	E	E
Indio	S	E	S
Flaquita	S	B	S
María	B	B	E
Conejo	S	E	S

Table 2. Observed language use in home, all settings, along with school program for "lame" and "streetwise" children

S=Spanish E=English B=both or bilingual

This classification of Conejo and Ramón as "streetwise" stems from the fact that while they do not have extensive peer involvement on the block, they are heavily involved with boys off the block (Figure 4). Similarly, though Indio's connection with the other boys in the sample is rather tenuous, he has more extensive contacts with a group of pre-adolescent boys on the block. We also include Gordito in this category despite his parents' protectiveness, because of his exposure to a great deal of block activity due to the favorable location of his building, his window, and el ancho in front of his house.

Table 2 indicates clearly that "lames" (i.e. those who through choice or compulsion are isolated from their peers) show an overall preference for the language of the home, which correlates perfectly with their placement in a particular program at school. For those who are "streetwise", on the other hand, parental influence is more diluted, and the child's school placement does not necessarily correlate with either home language or overall preferred language. Of the nine "streetwise" children, three boys (Baby, Indio, and Conejo) receive Spanish at home and use English most overall; yet the latter two are in bilingual classes. Gordito and Ramón (both in monolingual classes) receive both languages at home and use English outside. The remaining three (Juanita, Flaquita, and María) receive Spanish or both at home and use both outside.

This finding suggests that it is the interaction of the two factors, sex and peer involvement, which explains current language preference. Boys with extensive peer and block involvement tend to use English, regardless of home language and school placement. Boys who are isolated, on the other hand, speak the language of the home, whichever it may be. In contrast, girls (streetwise or lame) tend to use both, unless their home environments are overwhelmingly monolingual (as with Linda and Iris), in which case they use the language of the home.

These findings require explanation. Why, when both English and Spanish are accepted and in current use within this community and all but one of the sample children have skills in each language, are there clear differences between the language usage patterns of the boys and the girls? That males and females use language in distinct ways has, of course, been well-documented (e.g. Haas 1964, Labov 1966, Key 1972, Lakoff 1973, Crosby and Nyquist 1977). These data support the findings that not only can males and females differ in their selection of particular variants, but also of a particular variety from within a bilingual speech repertoire, and in particular that these differences are internalized by children at a very early age.

While this issue most definitely demands more careful consideration, we can venture a preliminary hypothesis about the division between the boys and girls, based on community-wide social and linguistic expectations and norms. The Puerto Rican community (despite influence from recent trends in the larger U.S. society) retains a strict separation of male and female social roles. Boys are given greater freedom of movement and fewer responsibilities than their female counterparts. Their theater of operations is the streets and their access to the world beyond their neighborhood is less restricted. Girls, on the other hand, are kept closer to home, involved more in the daily housekeeping and child rearing chores of their mothers, and rarely if ever allowed out unaccompanied.

For boys, Spanish may not have the kind of utility and prestige that English does, given that their major role models (e.g. athletes, disc jockeys, and television characters) are English-speaking non-Hispanics. While all code-switch on occasion, the language used most frequently remains that of their sports and television idols, i.e. English. Many more of the girls' activities, in contrast, center upon the family unit, and Spanish is an integral part of these. Nevertheless, as they, too, are open to the influences of the outside world via television, non-Hispanic school contacts, and role models in the larger society, English is also an important part of their existence. Their traditional female roles of accomodator and facilitator may further support the observed and reported use of both languages. Thus, girls are in the position of constantly mediating between two worlds, both socially and linguistically, in ways that boys are not, resulting in greater bilingual skills and more frequent and fluent code-switching.[22]

The other aspect of these findings, which cross-cuts the first, is that of peer involvement. This factor, as we have seen, is a predictor of current language preference among boys, although far less clearly among girls. The reason for this appears to be that extent of peer involvement for girls does not significantly diminish commitments to and responsibilities within the home, as it does for the more "streetwise" of the boys. Thus even when permitted to socialize extensively outside, girls are still expected to participate in rearing of younger siblings, preparation of food,and other household tasks. Thus the home and its influences remain greater socializing forces in their lives , providing additional explanation for their greater bilingual skills: the pull towards English exerted by outside influences is offset by the more conservative forces of the home.

We have been examining the interaction of two factors, sex and peer involvement, to explain current language preference. It is clear that the language distribution described for these children in most ways mirrors adult behavior in this community. However, this does not account for all of our observations. In particular, it seems as though there is a different standard of expectations for children than for adults. It is generally taken for granted that children in the community are English speakers;at the same time they are also (explicitly or implicitly) expected to maintain Spanish.

Yet if we take Herminio's initial experience on the block as a case in point, we must inevitably raise the question of whether, in contrast to Spanish monolingual adults who have been observed to function in this community with little pressure to change their language preference, children are not socially handicapped by entering the community with no knowledge of English. This would make sense in view of the facts that (1) Spanish-speaking adults enjoy a position of respect in the community which requires accomodating to them (Pedraza 1981), and (2) there is evidence, as we will show below, that English is being introduced by the children into settings which for the adults were characterized primarily by Spanish.

A look at the only other child in our sample whose English skills are also very limited shows that this is not necessarily the case. Despite being virtually monolingual in Spanish at the outset of our study, Chico became an integral part of block life, in contrast to Herminio who chose to remain at home. Since Chico established himself socially in Spanish (before he fully learned English), he did not need to acquire English as abruptly as, for example, Herminio or Iris, whose social integration and acceptance proceeded hand in hand with their acquisition of English.

It seems likely, then, that the problems experienced by Herminio arise from cultural and social rather than language-specific differences. In contrast to Chico; who was born and raised in El Barrio, Herminio did not know how to behave in a city setting--he did not know the games, songs, curses, etc. that are part of being a child in New York City. He also entered this new scene at a relatively late age among pre-adolescents who do not initiate relationships as readily or acceptingly as do younger children.

Thus we have seen that the factors affecting language distribution among children basically correspond to larger community norms.

We now specifically compare and contrast in greater detail the overall language patterns of the children and their parents in order to comprehend the differences between them and arrive at some conclusions about the linguistic future of this speech community.

5.0 Language use across generations

We have presented evidence, in preceding sections, which may be interpreted in favor of language shift. We have noted some influences external to the home which seem to be encouraging the use of English, especially among the boys. Indeed, the question of intergenerational language shift and loss has been of great interest to researchers working within Hispanic communities in the U.S. A number of studies have commented on the process of cultural assimilation or "accomodation" (Koss 1965) and its linguistic reflexes.

Fishman was perhaps the first (1966) to schematize a model whereby the process of shift by immigrant communities to the target language is brought to completion by the third generation. This paradigm was first substantiated through work in a Puerto Rican community not unlike this one (Fishman et al. 1971). Studies in Hispanic and other communities since that time (e.g. Hayden 1966, Cornejo 1973, Barnett-Garcia 1979) have provided support for this view: grandparents use the immigrant language, parents use both, and children use the target language to the virtual exclusion of the other. All of these studies see language shift as leading inexorably to language loss. Far fewer studies have found both languages to coexist in a stable way (e.g. Sutherland 1975).

In order to determine the bearing of the data we have presented on the issues of language shift and loss, we turn next to a detailed comparison of reported and observed language use of older and younger generations.

5.1 Reported language use of parents and children

When we ask the adults what language they use in a variety of interactions, we find that they are equally divided between those who report using _Spanish-only_ with all interactants (parents, siblings, peers, children and co-workers where applicable) - and those who report using both Spanish and English depending on the interlocutor. This is in contrast to their children, none of whom

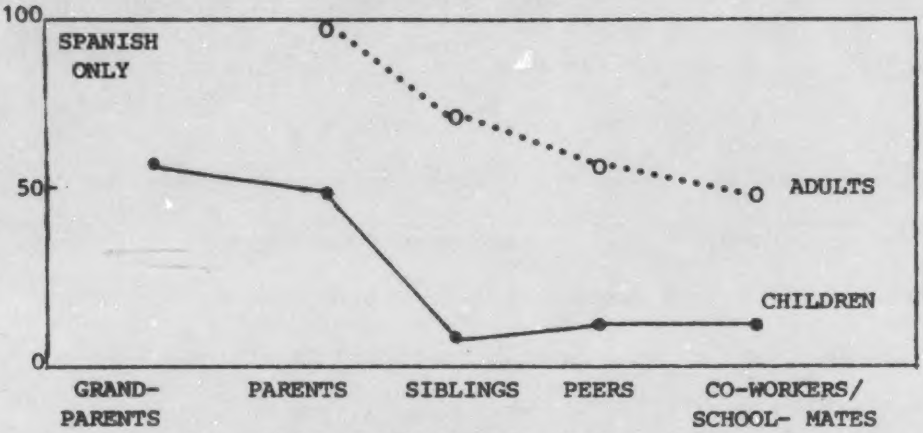


Fig. 5a. Reported use of Spanish only by adults and children according to interlocutor.

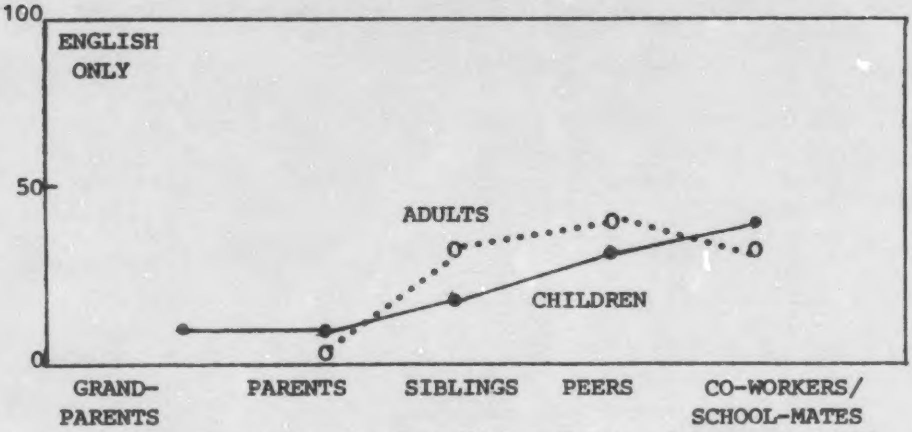


Fig. 5b. Reported use of English only by adults and children according to interlocutor.

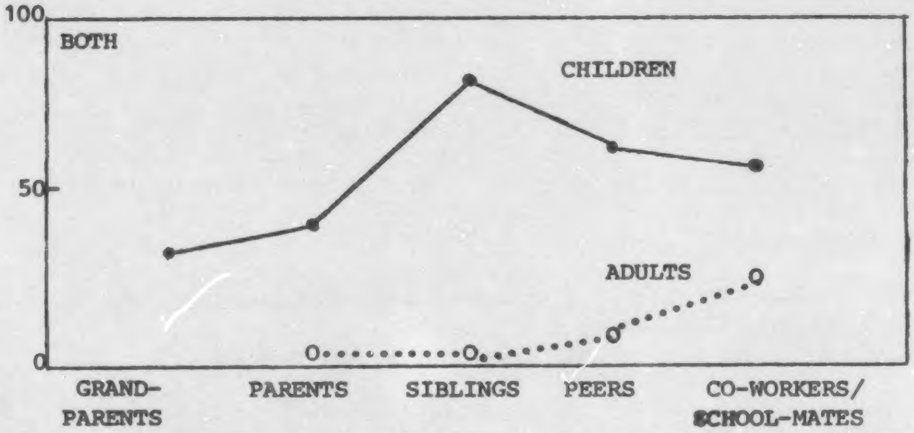


Fig. 5 c. Reported use of both Spanish and English by adults and children according to interlocuter.

report speaking only Spanish with all interactants. Indeed, two-thirds of the children claimed no interactant or setting which required Spanish exclusively.

The data in Figure 5a appear to support a perception of use of Spanish only as a function of familial relationship and generational distance. The graph shows that use of Spanish is perceived to decrease from family members to non-family members, and within the family from the older generation to siblings. Indeed, it is in interactions with siblings that most respondents claim to use both Spanish and English. However, the difference between the number of parents and children who report using only Spanish appears from Figure 5a to be very great, and if we were to limit the analysis to this figure alone, we world have to conclude that use of Spanish is decreasing rapidly among the younger generation -- whereas all of the adults report using exclusively Spanish with their parents, only 58% of the children speak to these same people (who are their grandparents) exclusively in Spanish. Indeed, parents and grandparents are the only interactants with whom more than half of the children report speaking only Spanish, an assessment which coincides exactly with what their own parents report speaking with them. Interestingly enough, the sole use of English with various interlocutors is reported by fewer than a third of both parents and children;indeed, if any thing, by fewer children than parents. (Figure 5b).

The key difference between the adults and the children lies in the number of children who report using both languages with the interactants in question (Figure 5c). In particular, it appears from these figures that interactions which are carried out by the older generation solely or predominantly in Spanish (especially those involving parents and siblings) are carried out by the younger generation in both.[23] This is to be expected from the nature of the community in which these children were born and raised, where as has been described, there are only very few completely monolingual speakers of either of the languages. These figures correspond, with some exceptions (particularly among the children), to observations of language choice with the interlocutors in question.

We next examine more closely the differences between the reported and observed language use of the children globally, at home, on the block, and in school.

5.2 Reported vs observed language use of children in different settings

Table 3 compares reported and observed language used most frequently in the three domains as these relate to the child's placement in a school program. The circled letters on the right indicate disagreements between reported and observed assessment.

We first note from Table 3 that most of the children (12/15) report adapting their linguistic behavior to the setting, e.g. speaking Spanish at home, English at school, and both on the block. In other words, the evidence from the majority indicates a perceived separation of language by setting. However, our observations show that there is no absolute association of any setting with one of the

	REPORTED			OBSERVED		
	HOME	BLOCK	SCHOOL	HOME	BLOCK	SCHOOL
BILINGUAL CLASS						
Iris	B	S	S	Ⓢ	S	S
Indio	B	E	B	B	E	B
Conejo	S	B	B	Ⓑ	Ⓔ	B
Juanita	B	B	E	B	B	Ⓑ
Flaquita	B	B	B	B	B	B
Josie	B	E	B	B	Ⓑ	B
Dorcas	B	B	B	B	B	B
Chico	B	S	S	Ⓢ	S	S
Herminio	B	B	B	Ⓢ	Ⓢ	B
MONOLINGUAL CLASS						
María	B	B	B	B	B	B
Pito	E	E	E	E	E	E
Debbie	B	E	E	Ⓔ	E	E
Ramón	B	B	B	Ⓔ	Ⓔ	Ⓔ
Gordito	B	B	E	B	Ⓔ	E
Linda	B	B	E	Ⓔ	Ⓔ	E

Table 3. Reported and observed language used most frequently at home, on the block and in school according to placement in school program.

S-Spanish E-English B-Both

two languages paralleling in this regard what had already been found for the adult members of the community.

These discrepancies between the self-report and the observed behavior may indicate some interesting features of the children's communicative competence. In every case, the disagreement between observed and reported language use lies in an identification of both languages as opposed to one of the two, but it is never based in a confusion between the two languages. In other words, while Iris may claim that she speaks both English and Spanish at home whereas we observe an overwhelming use of Spanish alone, she does not claim to use English only when we observe her to use Spanish only.

What appears to us to be over-report of one of the languages when the child claims "both" may actually reflect the child's awareness of his passive rather than productive proficiencies. That is to say, the child (correctly) takes into account in his assessment of language use his ability to participate receptively in conversations in his other language. This capacity is something that is rarely considered in determining a child's language skills, though comprehension is something in which educators are ostensibly very interested.

Let us examine the relation of self-report and observation in each of the settings more closely.

5.2.1 In the home

The majority of the children (12/16) report using both languages in the home. When we break down language use by participant, the trends documented in the previous section emerge clearly: The parents and grandparents of all the children but one (Pito's) are addressed in Spanish and English. Contrary to what has frequently been observed in the literature, the majority of the children report use of both languages with their siblings, rather than only English. Although we do not have self-report data to show this (only Maria claims to address her baby sister in Spanish), we know that children generally use Spanish to address babies. These data confirm the perceived generational distribution of Spanish or the correlation of Spanish use with age or respect.

When we compare reported with observed language use in the home, we find that more than a third of the reports do not agree with our observations . In examining these discrepancies, we find that children who use a lot of English at home tend to overrate their use of Spanish by claiming to use both. (Of course, both are accessible to all the children but Pito.) Conversely, two of the children from mostly Spanish home environments report more English than they actually used. As suggested earlier, it may be that the over-report of Spanish from these three accurately reflects the fact that both Spanish and English may be heard in these homes, although it is clear from our observations that English is used far more frequently that Spanish.

5.2.2 On the block

Slightly more than half of the children report using both languages on the block. Only a quarter report using only English on the block, the same number (though not the same children) who report using only English in school. Since all but one of the children reporting only English in school are in fact in monolingual English programs, and are thus constrained to use English in school to a great extent, the figure for reported English use on the block is actually rather high especially when we consider that the block is the setting which places least constraints on language choice of the three. The figure is especially high when we compare it to children's reports of English use in the home, where only Pito (correctly) claims to use English.

Despite what we considered a rather high report of English use on the block,we actually observed even more (nearly half) of the children to use mainly English in this setting. As noted previously, almost all of those observed to use predominantly English on the block are boys, regardless of their primary language at home or in school. Only two of the girls, in contrast, are observed to use mainly English on the block.

There are nearly as many discrepancies between reported and observed language use on the block as there were for the home. Most of these are in the direction of claiming more Spanish than was actually observed, i.e. the children reported using both when they were actually observed to use more English. These four children are able to speak Spanish, though they were rarely observed to do so, and their self-report may refer to the Spanish they speak when code-switching or when addressing older people or as already mentioned, to their passive listening capabilities.

5.2.3 In school with friends

Unlike in the settings of home and block, almost all of the children report language use with friends in school accurately, a rather surprising finding, considering the young age of some of the children in the sample. Eight of the nine children observed to speak Spanish or both are in bilingual classes, and six of the seven children observed to speak English are in monolingual classes. This indicates either that the bilingual programs are somehow affecting the child's language choice, or more probably, that they are making allowances for and thus perpetuating the language preference brought to the school by the child (both by using Spanish as a medium of instruction and by making available children with similar language preferences). The latter possibility is borne out by the fact that children in school name only friends within their particular class.

When we compare reports of language use at home and the block with observations for children placed in bilingual as opposed to monolingual classes, a number of points emerge. We note first that a third of the reports disagree with our observations. This is actually a surprisingly low figure considering the age of the children (some of whom were six years old at the time of the interview), and the nature of the questions (see Appendix) which require some meta-linguistic introspection.

Notwithstanding, comparison of children in bilingual and monolingual classes reveals some striking differneces. For one thing, none of the children in monolingual (i.e. English) classes reports using (nor more strikingly is observed to use) predominantly Spanish in any of the three settings. This is in contrast to five reports of Spanish-only use (out of a possible 27) from those in bilingual classes and eight observations of exclusive Spanish use. However, interestingly enough, disagreements between report and observation among children in monolingual classes show a consistent pattern of overrating Spanish use. More than a third of the reports indicate use of both languages, particularly at home and on the block (where half of the reports do not coincide for both domains), while observation indicates predominant use of English. This is understandable in view of the exposure of the children in both passive and active modes to Spanish at home and on the block discussed above.

The discrepancies between reported and observed language use among children in bilingual classes show a tendency in the opposite direction noted for the monolinguals-either overrating their English or underrating their Spanish (i.e. reporting more use of both languages when they were actually observed to use Spanish). These differences may be explicable in terms of the children's attitudes, their receptive capacities in both languages, and their perceived stage of language acquisition.

The responses of the children in monolingual programs to questions attempting to tap attitudes towards Spanish such as "Would you like to speak better Spanish than you do?"; "If someone said you talked like Puerto Rican, would that make you feel good?"; "Do you think a Puerto Rican kid should know how to speak Spanish?";

were overwhelmingly favorable (Chapter 4), while responses from children in bilingual classes were somewhat more noncommittal. Apparently, those in monolingual classes like to think of themselves as using more Spanish than they actually do, while the reverse holds true for those for whom Spanish is more commonplace.

6.0 Summary conclusions

In this chapter we have offered a detailed account of the children as participants in the larger linguistic scenario of their speech community, examining their language use and the varying influences exercised upon it by their environment. The linguistic situation of today's children in El Barrio is significantly different from that which characterized their parents' childhoods. Most of the adults were raised at a time when many speakers in the community were still recent arrivals, and Spanish was a real necessity in both the home and community. The members of the younger generation, on the other hand, participate in social networks which permit (perhaps require) use of both languages.

What can we now say about language use among these children that can help us better understand the speech community in which they function and perhaps predict something about the future of language diversity within that community?

From the material presented in this chapter, it is clear that there is heterogeneity in language choice within the speech community despite the ethnic and economic homogeneity of its members. There are thus a multitude of factors involved in determining the language choice and proficiency of given children. No one factor in and of itself is sufficient to account completely for the language use of the individual. The different factors may be broadly grouped by levels into personal, home, peer, community-wide, and attitudinal (the last operative at all the preceding levels).

Among the personal factors is the sex of the child. As we have seen, girls and boys behave differently when it comes to using language. Girls tend to use both English and Spanish while boys favor English, particularly if they have extensive peer involvement. In this regard they are reflecting the wider norms of the community, although English is being introduced into previously all-Spanish domains. Age is also influential, as the norm in this community is for the very youngest children to use and be addressed in Spanish. As the child matures, the tendency is toward increasing use of English.

One factor found to be highly predictive of language preference among adults is age at time of migration. Given that few of our children were born or raised in Puerto Rico,we cannot assess the contribution of this factor to their current linguistic behavior.[24]

Finally, the child's personality plays a role, primarily as it intersects with the factors of peer involvement. Introverted, isolated children tend to favor the language of the home (usually Spanish) while more outgoing, involved children opt for English or both languages.

Home factors, for the most part controlled by the parents, include the habitual language of the home (in turn determined by their migration history), the type and language of television programs selected, the amount of privacy and resultant exposure to adult conversations in the home, influences from extended family, siblings, and friends of parents. Of equal importance as well are overt parental decisions regarding the language of parent-child interactions, the selection of school program, the mobility of the child outside the home, and the inclusion of the child's friends within the family circle.

Closely linked are peer factors, which in most cases supersede those of the home.[25] Those children with strong peer linkages tend to speak in ways that reflect the norms of their social networks, i.e. boys use English and girls use both languages; these in turn, of course, reflect the norms of the larger community. Those children who are kept close to home and not permitted extensive socialization with peers reflect in their language choice the influence of the family. Involvement in peer networks is also governed by the location of the home on the block, the age of the child (the youngest are constrained by parental wishes) and the status of the child among his peers (leader or follower, streetwise or lame). Within the sphere of peer factors falls the influence of the "best friend" whose language preferences may prove decisive for the child, at least when interacting with that friend. This is most clearly evidenced by the few children who had Black best friends: they not only spoke more English, but a variety which appears more influenced by Black English.

On the broadest level are the influences of the entire community.

The mere fact of living in a bilingual community situated within an English-speaking society provides a conflict for the child which has to be confronted daily, particularly when going from home to school and back again. Within the community, too, are a broad range of possibilities to which the child receives variable and differential language exposure depending on his family's visiting patterns, off-block trips, participation in street activities, attendance at church services, etc. The kind of interaction, whether family or non-family centered, is a determinant of language choice as well. Finally, community-wide norms (like those regarding _respeto_ and _relajo_) have a great deal to do with the language or languages utilized in given settings and with given interactants. The community in its widest sense is also subject to a constant influx of monolingual speakers of Spanish (due to circulatory patterns of Puerto Rican migration and entry of other Hispanics) as well as a barrage of influences from the larger English-speaking society.

Intersecting each of these levels are attitudinal factors. These include perceptions of the ease, expressiveness, instrumental utility, beauty and stigma attached to the different language varieties, as well as perceived linkages to cultural integrity, political cohesion, economic development. It is clear that this is an overriding factor: no matter how favorable the other influences, if a speaker, for whatever reasons, decides not to use one of the two languages, then it will disappear from his repertoire.

There are, of course, conflicts within each sphere of influence. Within the home, for example, a child may be required to speak Spanish to his grandparents as a sign of respect, while speaking Spanish or English to his parents (depending on their preferences or needs), and English with his siblings and cousins. And among peers, the norm will be to favor English, but the child who does not know enough Spanish to code-switch or deal with a recent arrival from Puerto Rico is less than fully active. This is hardly a one domain-one language situation and requires the formulation of a flexible model which is responsive to the dialectical nature of the many forces that impinge upon ultimate choices, a task which must unfortunately be left for the future.

Perhaps the most crucial aspect of our findings is the dynamic quality of the relationships among these influences. From our knowledge of the community and particularly of the behavior of its adult members, we can state that the relative influence of the different factors changes according to the period of life in which the speaker finds himself. Among the children examined in this report, we have seen clear evidence of a shift toward English, although this does not appear to be at the expense of Spanish--rather the two languages are being utilized together in virtually all settings. Previous experience among adolescents in this community points to an even greater preponderance of English. This may include a stage of development in which knowledge of Spanish is denied and ability deliberately restrained, although its presence is maintained in a minimal sense via code-switching. The very different requirements of young adulthood and parenthood once again re-align the levels of influence so that Spanish usage is reactivated for the purposes of inter-generational transmission as well as interaction with the older adult population.

In conclusion, we point out that while we cannot determine *a priori* the 'dominance' or language preference of a given child in a given setting anymore than we can predict the site of a given code-switch, we can assess the relative strength of the different influences upon his behavior at a given stage and within given interactions, and make a general prediction of the likely outcomes. Once this approach (which recognizes the variability and conflict inherent in the system) is brought to bear upon large groups of children, then perhaps will policy (particularly educational policy) be informed by the reality of the community and its speakers.

NOTES

1. For comparisons of the relative merits of participant observation, interviewing, and document search, see Madge 1965, Becker and Greer 1969, Schatzman and Strauss 1973, and Conway, Jennings, and Milstein 1974. Whyte 1941 and Liebow 1967 are good examples of ethnographic writing.

2. This is not to say that the study of language was not of interest earlier. Anthropology had traditionally been concerned with the interrelationships among language, culture, and society, and anthropologists made many contributions to the study of language. They often served as a primary source of descriptions of so-called 'exotic' languages and assisted in the genetic and areal grouping of languages. (see Hoijer 1945 and Emeneau 1956). American anthropologists like Boas (1920), Sapir (1921), and Kroeber (1941) working with Native American cultures made significant early advances in the field of linguistics (particularly in phonology and morphology).

   For the most part traditional European anthropology viewed the study of language primarily as a means to conduct fieldwork and to make inferences about other cultural phenomena. This role of language, inherited largely from Malinowski, who stressed acquisition of the indigenous language and use of native categories in ethnographic description, resulted in relatively little systematic examination of language by European anthropologists until the mid 20th century. Ironically, Malinowski had a greater interest in language himself, as can be seen in his efforts to develop a theory of context and meaning (Malinowski 1923, 1935). Unfortunately, his efforts were so rudimentary and so unguided by the ethnolinguistic research being carried out at the time in the United States, that as Henson (1974:127) put it: "It was rather because of Malinowski than in spite of him that the rest of British social anthropology avoided all questions of language".

3. We will not include here Fishman, Cooper, and Ma's large scale study of bilingualism in a New Jersey barrio (1971) as it was not ethnographically based.

4. Early ethnographic studies of schools relied on audio taping and participant observation (Boggs 1972, Philips 1972, Shultz 1975). Later studies turned exclusively to video analysis.

5. The studies included Hawaiians in Hawaii, Italians, Hiapanics, and Native Americans in Boston suburbs, Native Americans in Canada, Oregon, and Alaska, and Chicanos and Blacks in California.

6. A brief history of the Centro is in order here. The Centro began in late 1973. It was initially run by a Directiva composed of interested parties from the Puerto Rican lay and academic communities. The Directiva developed task forces whose members outlined research areas, one of which was language policy. From the very beginning, the Centro had close ties to the community and the school system. In 1974, a Language Policy Committee was formed, including representatives of the Centro's Language Policy Task Force, individuals from the colleges of the City University, the PRACA Bilingual/Bicultural Early Childhood Project, the Escuela Infantil del Barrio, ASPIRA, PRLDEF, as well as various other community groups interested in bilingual education. The major purpose of the Committee was to develop sorely needed research projects regarding language usage in classroom, home and community along with attitudes toward language held by community residents and teachers. The committee also organized a study group in District 4, an area from which many of the members came and in which both the school board and district superintendent were interested in cooperating with research on educational issues. The study group, made up of parents, bilingual teachers, paraprofessionals, and school board members, focused on different problems in education and put together seminars and workshops. At about the same time, the Centro carried on parallel and intersecting work in organizing and helping to fund a Puerto Rican Child Development Consortium which involved many district residents.

   In 1976, after the gradual demise of the Committee, the Language Policy Task Force turned to fund-raising and staff development to carry out long-term, concentrated, basic research on more specifically linguistic questions, where it remains at the present time. The ties to the community and schools continue to be utilized in the planning and implementation of such investigations.

7. We were asked by two teachers not to observe during the first few weeks of the semester (one in the spring, the other in the fall). They had just been assigned new students due to the termination of other classes and needed time to socialize them into the class. We complied and returned when it was more convenient.

8. This occurred more often with Pousada than with Pedraza perhaps because she was more easily identified (by appearance and behavior) as a teacher by the others (almost all of whom were female).

9. The instruments were all administered during the period from December 1979 through June 1980 by Pousada with the exception of the formal interviews with the teachers in the school which were carried out by John Attinasi.

10. For evidence of the difference between results obtained by an outsider and those obtained by an insider, for the same field site c.f. Doob 1967 and Navarro Hernández 1978.

11. For evidence that residential mobility decreases school scores, see Jacob 1977. Opposing evidence can be found in Prior 1974 who reports that mobility alone does not influence scores.

12. Although the men of the families were approached for interviews, they usually demurred, claiming that their wives could answer the questions better than they could. In only one case was a father willing (in fact, insistent) to be interviewed; his responses are included among those of the primary rearers.

13. The correlation between age of arrival in the U.S. and age of acquisition of English is not particularly strong among these adults, as several, particularly the older ones, learned English in Puerto Rico, some when instruction was still carried out in that language in the schools.

14. Perfect command of Puerto Rican Spanish phonological patterns, even among those whose Spanish is too limited to sustain a conversation, is in fact quite common among residents of this community (c.f. Pedraza 1981).

15. Nonetheless, the times he does speak Spanish are most likely to be with his parents.

16. Baby's family, long-time block residents, moved when we were one year into the study, but we decided to retain him in the sample because of our familiarity with the Alvarez family from our earlier work with the adults of the community. We had some good data for him and felt we could easily get more despite the fact that he was attending a new school (in which we were not able to observe him); however, several attempts to do subsequent recordings were foiled by faulty equipment . In the second year of the study, because of violent disagreements with some of the block residents, the Alvarez family was forced to isolate itself from block life, after which it was almost impossible, despite repeated inquiries and efforts, to locate and gain access to Baby. Other problems subsequently resulted in the family going to Puerto Rico for some time,effectively terminating our possibilities to obtain any further information on this child. As a result, we have less taped or observational data for him than for any other child in the sample.

17. Once he told them that the proper work for a large truck was not troque but rather traile 'trailer'.

18. As mentioned previously, this influence may even extend to the choice of media (and their language) to which the children are exposed.

19. Gordito, for all intents and purposes an only child, and one whose outdoor activities are restricted a great deal, has sometimes invited Chico or Indio into his house to play.

20. Note that only in Figure 4 is the positioning of the children indicative of relative network involvement. Figures 2-3 have the same graphic configuration only for consistency and ease of reference.

21. By "home language" we refer to the language given by the parents to the child.

22. From our description, it would appear that maintaining Spanish is a way for women to express their connection to home, children, and family, while mastery of English serves as a means for men to handle the exigencies of the outside world. However, this is a simplification of the facts. In the Puerto Rican community, as elsewhere, traditional role separations are in a state of flux. The younger generations are instrumental in redefining these roles, which may ultimately have repercussions on language distribution in the community.

23. This designation of "both" refers in most instances to use of both Spanish and English with the same interlocutor, but there are also cases which do not emerge from this treatment of the data where language choice varies according to the interlocutor; e.g. children frequently address very young siblings in Spanish, and older or same-age siblings in English or both. Likewise, in bilingual classrooms, there are children of varying abilities in Spanish and English, who are often addressed according to their preference.

24. Herminio, at age 10 the oldest arrival in our sample, understandably prefers Spanish today. However, his future language preference is by no means determinable on this basis alone.

25. Assuming, of course, that the decision was taken in the home to allow the child access to his peers.

References

Achor, S. 1978. Mexican Americans in a Dallas barrio. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Au, K. and C. Jordan. 1980. Teaching reading to Hawaiian children: Finding a culturally appropriate solution. In H. Trueba, K. Au, and G. Guthrie (eds.). Culture and the bilingual classroom: Studies in classroom ethnography. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Barnett-García, N.C. 1979. A study of the assessment of language dominance and bilingual education. Ph.D. thesis, University of Rochester.

Basso, K.H. 1972. 'To give up on words': Silence in Western Apache culture. In P.P. Giglioli. (eds.) Language and social context. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 219-231.

Baugh, J. 1979. Linguistic style-shifting in Black English Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Bauman, R. and J. Sherzer. 1975. The ethnography of speaking. Annual Review of Anthropology 4, 341-370.

Becker, H.S. 1958. Problems of inference and proof in participant observation. American Sociological Review 23, 652-660.

Becker, H.S. and B. Green. 1969. Participant observation and interviewing: A comparison. In McCall and Simmons (eds.) Issues in participant observation: A text and reader. Reading, Mass: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 322-331.

Bloch, M. 1976. Review: Explorations in the ethnography of speaking. Language in society 5, 229-240.

Boas, F. 1920. The classification of American languages. American Anthropologist 22, 367-376.

Boggs, S. 1972. The meaning of questions and narratives to Hawaiian children. In C. Cazden, V. John, and D. Hymes (eds.). Functions of language in the classroom. New York: Teachers College Press.

Bremme, D. 1976. Accomplishing a classroom event: A microethnography of first circle. Working paper #3, Learning Environments. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Carrasco, R. 1980. Expanded awareness of student performance: A case study in applied ethnographic monitoring in a bilingual classroom. In H. Trueba, K. Au, and G. Guthrie (eds.).

Culture and the bilingual classroom: Studies in classroom ethnography. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Carrasco, R., A. Vera, and C. Cazden. 1979. Aspects of students' communicative competence in the classroom. In R. Durán (ed.). Latino language and communicative processes. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Company.

Cicourel, A. et al. 1974. Language use and school performance. New York: Academic Press.

Conway, J., R. Jennings, and M. Milstein. 1974. Understanding communities. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Cornejo, R. 1973. The acquisition of lexicon in the speech of bilingual children. In P. Turner (ed.). Bilingualism in the Southwest. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 88-89.

Crosby, F. and L. Nyquist. 1977. The female register: An empirical study of Lakoff's hypotheses. Language in Society 6:3, 313-322.

Darnell, R. 1974. Correlates of Cree narrative performance. In R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds.). Explorations in the ethnography of speaking. London: Cambridge University Press, 315-336.

Dean, J.P., R.L. Eichhorn, and L.R. Dean. 1967. Limitations and advantages of unstructured methods. In J.T. Doby (ed.). An introduction to social research, 2nd edition. Meredith Publishing Company, 274-279.

Doob, C. 1967. The development of peer group relationships among Puerto Rican boys in East Harlem. Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell University.

Dorian, N. 1979. Language death: The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Elías-Olivares, L. 1976. Ways of speaking in a Chicano community: A sociolinguistic approach. Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas.

Emeneau, M. 1956. India as a linguistic area. Language 32, 3-16.

Erickson, F. 1975. Gate-keeping and the melting pot: Interaction in counseling encounters. Harvard Educational Review 45, 44-50.

__________. 1977. Some approaches to inquiry in school-community ethnography. In W.J. Tikunoff and B.A. Ward (eds.). Anthropology and Education Quarterly 8:2.

Erickson, F. and J. Shultz. 1977. When is a context? The Quarterly Newsletter of the Institute for Comparative Human Development 1:2.

Fishman, J.A. Language loyalty in the U.S. The Hague: Mouton, 1966.

__________. 1971. Advances in the sociology of language. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, J.A., R.L. Cooper, and R. Ma. 1971. Bilingualism in the Barrio. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gal, S. 1979. Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Geertz, C. 1973. The interpretation of cultures. New York: Basic Books.

Glasser, B. and A. Strauss. 1967. The discovery of grounded theory. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Gumperz, J. 1964. Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. American Anthropologist 66:2, 37-53.

__________. 1967. On the linguistic markers of bilingual communication. Journal of Social Issues 23:2, 48-57.

__________. 1968. The speech community. In D.L. Sills (ed.). International encyclopedia of the social sciences 9, 381-86.

__________. 1971. The relation of linguistic to social categories. In A. Dil (ed.). Language in social groups. Essays by John J. Gumperz. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

__________. 1972. The speech community. In P.P. Giglioli (ed.). Language and social context. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 219-231.

Gumperz, J.J. and J. Wilson. 1971. Convergence and creolization: A case from the Indo-Aryan/Dravidian border of India." In A. Dil (ed.). Language in social groups: Essays by John J. Gumperz. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Haas, M. 1964. Men's and women's speech in Koasati. In D. Hymes (ed.). Language in culture and society. New York: Harper and Row, 228-233.

Hayden, R. 1966. Some community dynamics of language maintenance. In J.A. Fishman (ed.). Language loyalty in the U.S. The Hague: Mouton, 190-205.

Heath, S.B. 1981. Ethnography in education: Toward defining the essentials. In P. Gilmore and A. Glatthorn (eds.). Ethnography and education: Children in and out of school. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hoijer, H. 1945. The Apachean verb. International Journal of American linguistics 11, 193-203.

Hymes, D. 1962. The ethnography of speaking. In T. Gladwin and W. Sturtevant. (eds.). Anthropology and human behavior. Washington, D.C.: Anthropological Society of Washington, 13-53.

________. 1964. Introduction: Toward ethnographies of communication. American Anthropologist 66:6:2, 12-25.

________. 1967. Models of the interaction of language and social setting. Journal of Social Issues.

________. 1972. Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.). Directions in sociolinguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

________. 1976. Ethnographic monitoring, Ms.

Irvine, J. 1974. Strategies of status manipulation in the Wolof greeting. In R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds.). Explorations in the ethnography of speaking. London: Cambridge University Press, 167-191.

Jacob, E. 1977. The influence of culture and environment on cognition: A case study in a Puerto Rican town. Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Keenan, E. 1974. Norm-makers, norm-breakers: Uses of speech by men and women in a Malagasy community. In R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds.). Explorations in the ethnography of speaking. London: Cambridge University Press, 125-143.

Key, M. 1972. Linguistic behavior of male and female. Linguistics 88, 15-31.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 1974. The concept and varieties of narrative performance in East European Jewish culture. In R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds.). Explorations in the ethnography of speaking. London: Cambridge University Press, 283-308.

Koss, J. 1965. Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia: Migration and accomodation. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Kroeber, A. 1941. Some relations of linguistics and ethnology. Language 17, 289-290.

Labov, W. 1966. The social stratification of English in New York City. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

________. 1972a. Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English Vernacular. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

________. 1972b. Sociolinguistic patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W., P. Cohen, C. Robins, and J. Lewis. 1968. A study of the nonstandard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City. Office of Education Cooperative Research Project #3288.

Lakoff, R. 1973. Language in Society 2:1, 45-80.

Language Policy Task Force. 1982. Bilingualism and bilingual education in a Puerto Rican community. Final report to Ford Foundation.

Leibow, E. 1967. Tally's corner. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.

Madge, J. 1965. The tools of social science: An analytical description of social science techniques. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

Malinowski, B. 1923. The problems of meaning in primitive languages. In C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards. The meaning of meaning. London: Kegan Paul.

____________. 1935. Coral gardens and their magic: A study of the methods of tilling the soil and of agricultural rites in the Trobriand Islands. Vol II, The language of magic and gardening. New York: American.

McCall, G.J. and J.L. Simmons. 1969. Issues in participant observation: A text and reader. Reading, Mass: Addison Wesley Publishing Co.

McDermott, R. and K. Gospodinoff. 1979. Social contexts for ethnic borders and school failure: A communicative analysis. In A. Wolfgang (ed.). Nonverbal behavior. London: Academic Press.

Mehan, H. 1979. Learning lessons: Social organization in the classroom. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Michaels, S. 1981. 'Sharing time': Children's narrative styles and differential access to literacy. Language in Society 10:3, 423-442.

Mohatt, G. and F. Erickson. 1980. Cultural differences in teaching styles in an Odawa school: A sociolinguistic approach. In H. Trueba, K. Au, and G. Guthrie (eds.). Culture and the bilingual classroom: Studies in classroom ethnography. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Moll, L. et al. 1980. The construction of learning environments in two languages. Pre-publication draft. Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition, University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, California.

Navarro Hernández, P. 1978. The structure of Puerto Rican families in a context of migration and poverty: An ethnographic description of a number of residents in El Barrio, New York City. Ed.D. thesis, Columbia University, Teachers College.

Pedraza, P. 1981. Ethnographic observations of language use in El Barrio. Ms.

Pedraza, P., J. Attinasi, and G. Hoffman. 1980. Rethinking diglossia. In R. Padilla (ed.). Ethnoperspectives in bilingual education research: Theory in bilingual education. Ypsilanti, Michigan: Eastern Michigan University.

Philips, S. 1972. Participant structures and communicative competence: Warm Springs children in community and classroom. In C. Cazden, V. John, and D. Hymes. (eds.). Functions of language in the classroom. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 370-394.

__________. 1974. The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Reservation. Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Prior, D. 1974. Inner city elementary pupil mobility, reading achievement, and environmental process variables. Ph.D. thesis, Fordham University.

Reisman, K. 1974. Contrapuntal conversations in an Antiguan village. In R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds.). Explorations in the ethnography of speaking. London: Cambridge University Press, 110-124.

Rist, R. 1979. On the means of knowing: Qualitative research in education. New York University Education Quarterly 10:4.

Salmond, A. 1974. Rituals of encounter among the Maori: Sociolinguistic study of a scene. In R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds.).

Explorations in the ethnography of speaking. London: Cambridge University Press, 192-212.

Sapir, E. 1921. *Language*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Inc.

Schatzman, L. and A. Strauss. 1973. *Field research: Strategies for a natural sociology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Schwartz, M.S. and C.G. Schwartz. 1969. Problems in participant observation. In G.J. McCall and J.L. Simmons (eds.). *Issues in participant observation: A text and reader*. Reading, Mass: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 89-104.

Scollon, R. and S. Scollon. 1979. *Linguistic convergence: An ethnography of speaking at Fort Chipewyan*. New York: Academic Press.

Shultz, J. 1976. 'It's not whether you win or lose, it's how you play the game:' A microethnographic analysis of game playing in a kindergarten/first grade classroom. Working paper #2, Newton Classroom Interaction Project. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Graduate School.

Shuy, R., W. A. Wolfram, and W.K. Piley. 1968. *Field techniques in an urban language study*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Spindler, G.D. 1971. Anthropology and education. *Council on Anthropology and Education Newsletter* 2(1), 1-2.

____________. 1974. (ed.). *Education and cultural process: Toward an anthropology of education.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Sutherland, I. 1975. A study of Puerto Rican parents' views on bilingual/bicultural education. Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Trudgill, P.J. 1971. The social differentiation of English in Norwich. Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Wax, R. 1971. *Doing fieldwork: Warnings and advice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Whitehead, T. 1980. Identity, subjectivity, and cultural bias in fieldwork. *The Black Scholar* (Sept.-Oct.), 40-44, 83-87.

Whyte, W. 1955 (1941) . *Street corner society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Williamson, J., D. Karp, and J. Dalphin. 1977. The research craft: An introduction to social science methods. Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown, and Co.

Wolcott, H.F. 1967. A Kwakiutl village and school. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

____________. 1973. The man in the principal's office: An ethnography. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Wolcott, H. 1975. Criteria for an ethnographic approach to research in schools. Journal of society for Applied Anthropology 34:2.

Wolfram, W. 1969. A sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro speech. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

CHAPTER FOUR -- LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

1.0 Introduction

In an attempt to probe the relationship between observed language use and speakers' perceptions of their linguistic behavior in this community, we complemented our ethnographic inquiry with a formal survey of the attitudes toward linguistic forms and practices held by the children, their parents, and their teachers.[1] The instrument was intended to pinpoint particular issues concerning the form and function of the linguistic varieties that make up the communicative repertoire of the Puerto Rican population, the relationship between language choice and the larger cultural issue of ethnic identity, and the perceived roles of school (in particular, bilingual education programs), home, and community in maintaining Spanish.

Three different versions of the questionnaire were prepared in order to present questions which would be appropriate to the respondents' levels of experience, expertise, and interest. One parent[2] from twelve of the thirteen households responded to a 54-item set of questions dealing with demography, language usage, and attitudes toward language and ethnicity, as well as bilingual education and its function in the maintenance of Puerto Rican ethnic integrity in this country (Appendix A).[3] Fifteen of the sixteen children received a 45-item set of questions dealing with basic social information, language behavior in school and community, and attitudes toward language varieties and their speakers (Appendix B). We also inquired into their friendship networks and future aspirations in ways that further elicited language attitudes indirectly. Finally, the children's teachers (14 in all) were asked to respond to 43 different questions covering the same general material discussed for the children and guardians, but delving further into the area of education, particularly bilingual education (Appendix C).[4]

All three versions were administered in face-to-face interviews. Many were tape recorded. The children and parents were interviewed in their homes while the teachers were interviewed during lunch or prep periods in the school.[5] The interviews ranged in length from a half hour to more than an hour, and some required more than one session for completion. While they were decidedly more formal than most of the other material we obtained in the study, an attempt was made to create a comfortable interview atmosphere without undue pressure on the participants to respond via pre-determined choices. Many of the questions were open-ended, and digressions were sometimes sought and never actively discouraged.

This attitudinal survey was substantially different from that seen in our earlier work (Attinasi 1979, 1980). Among the reasons for the difference were: (1) the need for a shorter format (the original survey consisted of about 180 questions and took two to three hours to complete); (2) the need to have questions that could be answered by children as well as adults; and (3) the feeling that certain questions in the past were not productive or relevant to the particular interests of this study (e.g. a great deal of time was spent in the earlier survey on the relationships among culture, ethnicity, political status, and language, which were not of immediate concern in this investigation). The streamlining of the survey was also done with the awareness that in this project we were dealing with much smaller samples and that our inferences had to be all the more cautious. For that reason we chose to emphasize the most concrete and easily categorizable items.

While there is basic agreement throughout between the results of this and the earlier surveys, there are certain differences between the samples which should be signalled in advance. The most important of these, of course, is the inclusion of children in the present effort, which required care in selection and presentation of questions yet which yielded surprisingly consistent and sophisticated results despite the young age of the sample. Another important difference lies in the community adults represented. The sample used in this survey is for the most part a sub-sample of that utilized earlier--these are not just any community residents but rather those with school age children and those (presumably) who know (and care) somewhat more about children and education. The last major difference can be found among the teachers in the two studies. All of those in the earlier survey were bilingual teachers, while both bilingual and monolingual instructors were interviewed in the project reported here.

With an understanding of these essential divergences in mind, let us proceed with the report. What follows first is a narrative account of the responses of each group of participants, beginning (as in Chapter 3) with the parents and proceeding to the children. A brief discussion of the demographic characteristics of the teachers is included along with their attitudes. Throughout, the responses of the three groups are compared and analyzed. The final section attempts to draw conclusions about the present and future of bilingualism in this speech community based upon the attitudes toward language of its members.

2.0 The parents

2.1 Language use (14-19, 21-23, 32-33, 43)[6]

In this section we asked about language acquisition, language frequency, and language appropriateness with such questions as: Do you speak (English/Spanish)? Which language did you learn first? How old were you when you learned (L_2)? Do you use it much now? Which language do you feel you know best? Were did you learn to speak Spanish? Can you read and write in (English/Spanish)?

Despite the fact that most of the caretakers have been in this country for more than 15 years, three-quarters feel that their stronger language is Spanish. All learned it in infancy as their first language, and all but an eighteen year old (Linda's guardian) learned it in a Spanish-speaking country. Half of the group state that they speak very little or no English. Of those who do speak English, four learned it as children (the three youngest women plus Debbie's grandmother who attended school in Puerto Rico during one of the periods in which English was the language of instruction on the island).[7] In terms of frequency of usage of the two languages, three-quarters feel that they use Spanish most. All but the two youngest women (Pito and Linda's parents) have literate skills in Spanish; in contrast only half can read and write in English. The sample of parents thus is strongly Spanish-oriented.

We were also very much interested in ascertaining the patterns of language use according to specific interactants. The following tendencies (illustrated in Figure X) emerged in response to the question: Which language do you use when you talk with your________?"

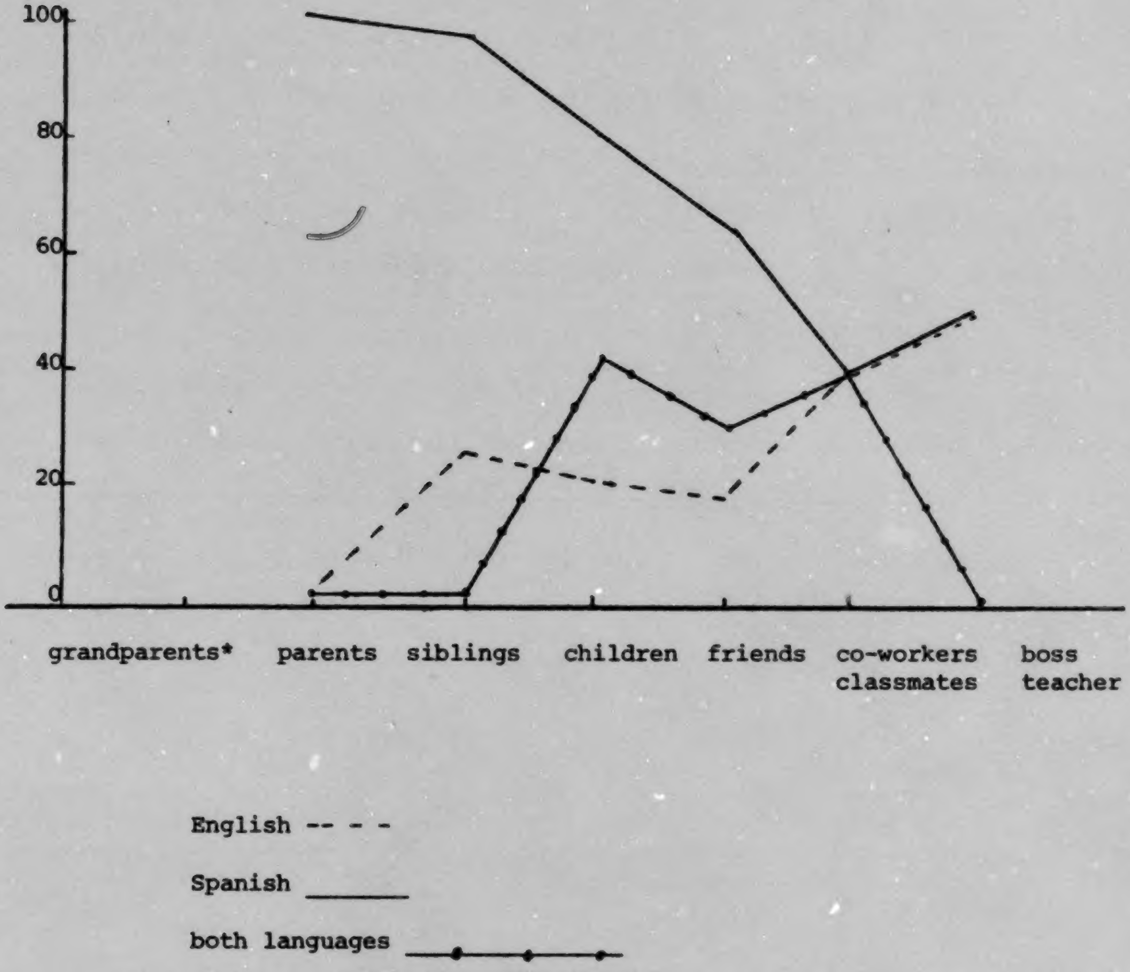


Figure X

Language used by parents with different interactants

*The parents were not asked about their grandparents, thus no information is available, though it may be assumed that only Spanish would have been used with them as all lived in Puerto Rico.

It is evident from the graph that the parents favor Spanish overwhelmingly with all interactants. Report of Spanish-only usage exceeds that of English-only or both in all categories with the exception of interactions with co-workers and bosses, in which English-only and Spanish-only usage is equal. However, as only half of the sample was able to answer the question about work (the other half never having been employed), this may be discounted. Reports of English-only and both usage never exceed 50% and, if the work domain is excluded, only reach a peak of 25% for English (with siblings) and 42% for both languages (with children).

While Spanish predominates in all interactions, the amount of Spanish-only usage reported is clearly a function of the nature of the relationship with the interactant. There is a steady downward progression from 100% Spanish-only with parents to 33% with co-workers. This may be taken as support for the often-noted function of Spanish as the language of "intimacy" (see Fishman, Cooper and Ma 1971). Because of the limited work experience of our sample, we cannot say, conversely, that English-only is the language of work.

As might be expected, the number of speakers reporting English-only or both languages increases as the interactions become less-family centered and subject to outside influences, although it never surpasses 50%. In other words, the slopes of the graphs tend to rise as we move from the left to the right of the figure. This is not merely a question of "intimacy", because as we can see from examining Figure X, the use of both languages is most likely with offspring or in the work place.

The category "both languages" is reported to mean different things to different people. For a few, it refers to the use of Spanish with one individual and English with another in the same class of interactants. For most, it designates the alternation of the two languages within a single interaction.

2.1.1 Code-Switching

The parents responded with great interest to our questions regarding mixing or switching of languages. Three-quarters admit to doing so at certain times, commenting that "it just comes out" (22/322) and "es una cosa espontánea" (17/145) (it's a spontaneous kind of thing). All but one (Pito's mother) say their children switch, an accurate report according to our observations and according to the children's own claims. Only a quarter feel this is a bad thing. Among these is Pito's mother, who remembers her own upbringing and the objections to language mixing heard from her teachers:

> I don't like to do it too much cause I used to have a teacher. She used to complain about that. She says that if you start a sentence with one language, you finish it. Don't go into a second. If you want to say it in English, say it in English. You want to say it in Spanish, say it in Spanish (28/457).

She points to certain possible reasons for switching languages -- "maybe sometimes it's hard for you to remember a word or you want to say it a little different" (28/207).

As we will see, this is a common rationale offered for code-switching, and one we attempted to probe further by asking about the translatability of words from one language to another. The actual question was: "Is there anything you can say in one language that you can't say in the other?" Half of the sample feels that everything can be translated: "There has to be a way that they say it" (28/185). The other half feels that certain concepts or words are language-specific, for example, profanity. Lexical need alone, therefore, is not an adequate explanation for code-switching, at least as far as adults are concerned. We return to this in the chapter on code-switching.

2.2. Language varieties (24-25, 34)

In another series of questions, we examined guardians' perceptions of Puerto Rican and other speech varieties. Regarding the possible difference between the Spanish spoken by Puerto Ricans on the island and those in N.Y.C., three-quarters feel that there is indeed a difference, citing the lack of good language models and formal training in Spanish in the U.S. As Pito's mother points out, unless individuals have recently arrived from Puerto Rico and been educated in Spanish, they don't have full command of standard Spanish grammar:

> It's a little sloppier over here, the words, you know. Unless, you know, you learn it from the school, like if you take up Spanish in school; it's different. It would be a little more correct. ...I talk sloppy myself but it's because I never really learned the right, you know. Like in school you learn the right English, cause that's what you're reading. But in Spanish I didn't have it. I just learned by ear (28/087).

Conejo's mother pinpoints the children as the ones whose Spanish suffers the most:

"Hay veces que los muchachos no lo saben hablar bien, digo los criados aquí, casi no saben hablar bien el español" (30/047). (Sometimes the children don't know how to speak it well, that is those raised here, they hardly know how to speak Spanish well).

Almost all the parents also agree that Puerto Rican Spanish is different from other varieties of Spanish. We specifically asked them to compare Puerto Rican Spanish with Colombian and Dominican dialects, Columbian being a prestige variety, and Dominican being largely similar to Puerto Rican Spanish, but imbued with even more negative prestige. Most cite lexical items and their uses, accent or phonology, and intonation as differences between the varieties, but none mention any grammatical divergences. Several feel they can readily identify particular Hispanics as to country of origin by their speech alone.

Debbie's grandmother is very clear about her preferences. Dominican Spanish to her is "horrible". As for Colombian Spanish: "Ay, los colombianos hablan un español precioso. Tienen muchas palabras distintas de las de nosotros" (22/215). (Ay, the Colombians speak a beautiful Spanish. They have a lot of words that are different from ours). She goes on to explain how Colombians use the term arvejas for what Puerto Ricans refer to as petit pois (peas) and the term duraznos for los peaches. Her general assessment, which is shared by the other guardians, is that Puerto Rican Spanish is "bastante bueno (pretty good)--better than Cubans or Dominicans" (231).

Indio's father, the Central American, not surprisingly has a different perspective on this question. While he is quick to point out that he has nothing against Puerto Ricans and many helped him and his family to adjust to life in N.Y.C., he has definite criticisms of the quality of Puerto Rican Spanish:

> Nosotros comprendemos que ellos tienen una cierta... un cierto sistema de hablar el español a medias. Por lo menos, yo veo aquí personas puertorriqueñas que dicen...por decir "carro" dicen "cajo". Y entonces pues no son...ellos no hablan un español correcto ni aún pues yo creo que tampoco nosotros lo hablamos muy correcto, verdad, porque yo considero que cada quien tiene su pequeño defecto, ¿no? Pero tenemos unos más que otros.

> Ahora entre el puertorriqueño y nosotros (guatemaltecos) yo considero que ellos están más atrasados en el español. Yo no sé si sea la forma en que se constituyen ellos, en que digamos...bueno, yo no considero que todos los puertorriqueños lo hablen así porque yo conozco puertorriqueños que hablan muy bien el español. Lo hablan muy perfecto, pero que yo digo en mi concepto, la gente que viene del campo es la que descompone le español (20/061).*

He goes on to explain that education is very crucial in the kind of language that gets transmitted from generation to generation, and that unless children are corrected often and given good examples to follow, the degeneration of the language is inevitable. This viewpoint reflects the attitudes of many scholars and educators (c.f. de Granda 1968, Varo 1971, La Fontaine 1975), though not of the other parents.

Our efforts to gain similar information about the variety of English spoken by Puerto Ricans, through questions like: "Does the way Puerto Ricans speak English sound like the way blacks speak? Does it sound like the way whites speak?" were less fruitful. Some of the parents feel they don't know enough English in order to judge. Only two consider that there is any visible influence from Black English, and only one sees any influence from the N.Y.C. English spoken by whites. The general consensus is that Puerto Ricans speak a distinct variety of English, but what distinguishes it from others is not clear.

---

*We understand that they have a certain way of speaking half-way. At least I see Puerto Rican people here who say "cajo" for "carro". And so they're not...they don't speak Spanish correctly, not that I think we speak it so correctly, right, because I consider that everyone has his small defects, no? But some have more than others.

Now between the Puerto Ricans and us (Guatemalans) I consider that they are more backward in their Spanish. I don't know if it's because of the way they're made up in that let's say...well, I don't think that all Puerto Ricans talk that way because I know Puerto Ricans who speak Spanish very well. They speak it perfectly, but what I'm saying is that in my concept, the people who come from the countryside are the ones who are destroying the Spanish language.

2.3 Good language (28-31)

As part of our inquiry into community perceptions of the language varieties which constitute the local repertoire, we posed several questions involving the nature of "good" Spanish and English and whether respondents judge their own varieties to fall into those categories.

Despite the necessarily subjective nature of the question, most of the parents are able to characterize "good" language in some way, either by pointing to features of the speech itself (clear pronunciation, well-developed vocabulary, comprehensibility, fluency of delivery), or by indicating the type of people who speak it (educated people, older people, Spaniards, Americans, whites, radio announcers). Of these, pronunciation and vocabulary are deemed the most important characteristics of both good Spanish and good English. The comprehensibility of the speech and education of the speaker are mentioned as essential to "good" language more often for English than for Spanish. Older people are associated with "good" Spanish; they are generally Spanish dominant or monolingual in this community and are considered by many to speak a "purer" Spanish (see Attinasi 1979). Only one guardian, the 18 year old, associates "good" Spanish with Spaniards (supporting our earlier findings reported in Pousada and Poplack 1979:20), further indication that Puerto Rican Spanish (or at least non-Iberian Spanish) is viewed as a legitimate variety by its speakers independent of that governed by the Academia Real. (In contrast to our earlier findings reported in Attinasi 1979: 419, no one mentions "younger people" in connection with "good" English).

In assessing whether they speak "good" Spanish, three-quarters indicate that they do. Of the remaining quarter who disparage their Spanish, two are women raised in the U.S. who never had formal Spanish training (Linda and Pito's parents). The last (the twins' mother, who by observation is a perfectly adequate and fluent Spanish speaker though she was not able to go beyond the fourth grade) is insecure about her command of Spanish though unexpectedly convinced of the quality of her English:

> No lo hablo muy bien, tú sabes, porque algunas veces digo palabras que yo creo que las estoy diciendo bien pero que las estoy pronunciando mal. Mucha gente me han corregido eso (18/096).*

Self-assessment of English, not too surprisingly, runs in the opposite direction. Two-thirds of the parents feel that their English cannot be characterized as "good". The four who are confident about the quality of their English (Gordito, the twins, Ramón, and Debbie's parents) have all been in N.Y.C. for more than 15 years (though none were born here), and learned English in childhood or adolescence. On the other hand, the one individual born in N.Y.C. (Linda's 18 year old sister), who favors English and was completely educated in that language, does not consider her English to be "good".

We are clearly dealing here with different standards of "good" English. When an individual is in the process of acquiring a language, even moderate proficiency is considered as "good", whereas once one has become fluent enough to be sensitive to the subtle differences among varieties, one's own variety is seen within the larger schema of prestige and non-prestige. Thus, the negative self-assessment on the part of native speakers and the positive rating on the part of non-native speakers.

---

*I don't speak it too well, you know, because sometimes I say words that I think I'm saying right but that I'm pronouncing wrong. Many people have corrected me on that.

2.4 Language and ethnicity (26, 35-36, 39, 52, 54)

As people are often identified (and stereotyped) by their speech patterns alone, we were interested in tapping some of the attitudinal connections between ethnicity and language. We asked the parents what their reaction would be if told they speak like Puerto Ricans. To this question three-quarters answer without hesitation that they would be pleased as they are Puerto Rican and proud of being so. Two others (Flaquita's mother and Indio's father) feel completely neutral about such an eventuality, somewhat surprising given Mr. González' view of Puerto Rican Spanish as inferior to that spoken in Central America. Also contrary to expectation, only the 18 year old perceives any possible slight or insult in such an identification, depending on its source: "Sometimes, you know, when you're in a high society crowd, you would take it as an insult" (29/00). The fact that she is the only one to signal this attitude may be due to her greater exposure to non-Puerto Ricans as a high school student and her concomitant awareness of the subtleties of racism and chauvinism in this society.

In connection with this, we inquired about the opinion held of Puerto Ricans by general U.S. society and whether that assessment is in any way related to language. None of the respondents see any positive assessment of their community in this country. More than half feel that most Americans have a very poor opinion: "Creen que son malos, vagos, puercos, pero hay de todo, buenos y malos, como en cualquier grupo" (19/00). (They think they're bad, lazy, pigs, but there's all kinds, good and bad, like in any group). "Dicen que son sobrados. Uno paga por todos, pero no son todos así" (24/00). (They say they're pushy. One pays for all, but they're not all like that). The others are divided between those who contend that U.S. society is completely indifferent to the condition or future of Puerto Ricans in this country and those who say it depends on the perceptions and experience of specific individuals. As Iris, Chico, and Juanita's mother puts it: "Depende la clase de persona que sea. Hay muchos que ven a los puertorriqueños con mala cara. Hay otros que los miran bien " (19/100). (It depends on the type of person. Many see Puerto Ricans in a bad light. Others think well of them).

A third see no connection between this negative assessment and the way Puerto Ricans talk. Close to half do, however, citing the use of Spanish which may bother Americans. In other words, the parents point to the very act of speaking a language other than English, rather than any feature of the English or Spanish spoken by Puerto Ricans, as responsible for any linguistically-based prejudices of the larger society.

As for the effects of education on such attitudes, almost all who answered think that if Puerto Ricans got more education then U.S. society will view them in a more favorable light. However, Conejo's mother emphasizes that the general opinion will never change no matter how much Puerto Ricans advance educationally, so long as all Puerto Ricans keep getting blamed for the actions of some.

The parents were also asked about having non-Puerto Rican teachers teaching Spanish in bilingual programs. Three-quarters see nothing wrong with such a practice and rate knowledge of the two languages as more important than the ethnicity of the teacher: "Si sabe español, está bien" (17/00). (If the teacher knows Spanish, it's o.k.). "Si ella es bilingüe, no importa " (26/00). (If she's bilingual, it doesn't matter). "Those teachers went through a lot to learn that language, so they could teach the kids" (22/143).

Those who feel that only Puerto Ricans should teach the children (though a small minority) are more vocal. Nevertheless, even these vary in the strength of their opinions. Flaquita's mother is most emphatic:

> No se le va a enseñar como es debidamente si no es ella de la raza hispana. Yo creo que casi nunca ni estudiandolo se lo aprenden como es, porque yo conozco personas que lo han estudiado español...americanos y no lo hablan perfectamente ni entienden muchas palabras tampoco. No pueden establecer una conversación con uno (21/101).*

She apparently conceives of "Puerto Rican" and "Hispanic" as identical and in opposition to "American."

---

*It (Spanish) won't be taught the way it should be if she isn't Hispanic. I think that you hardly ever learn it the way it is even if you study, because I know people who've studied Spanish... Americans, and they don't speak it perfectly nor do they understand a lot of words. They can't converse with you.

Indio's father is somewhat less emphatic though with the same results: "Bueno, ahí está un poquito malo porque digamos que una persona que no es ...digamos que no sepa bien el español, le va enseñando las palabras cortadas. Sí, se le puede entender, pero como yo lo digo, se va matando el lenguaje, poco a poco se mata" (20/340).*

A final question deals with the demands to assimilate in the United States. Is it mandatory to "do as the Romans do" in this society or is it possible to maintain one's ethnicity and culture intact? Two-thirds of the parents emphatically deny that one has to speak only English or act like an American to live in the U.S.: "No, este país, entre más tiempo, entre más años vayan pasando, más se va a necesitar ser bilingüe" (20/398). (No, for this country as time passes, it will be more and more necessary to be bilingual.)

The others are divided between those who feel that assimilation is not required but can make life a lot easier and progress more possible:

> "Yo creo que uno se viste y habla de la raza que uno es. Lo demás uno lo tiene que hacer para desarrollarse mejor en el ambiente y progresar un poquito más. Pero no creo que uno tiene que hacer lo mismo" (21/00) **

---

*Well, there we have a little problem because a person who doesn't know Spanish well will teach the words all chopped off. Yes, they can be understood, but as I say, the language is gradually destroyed, bit by bit it dies.

**I think that you dress and act according to your ethnic group. The rest you do to get along better in your environment and progress a little bit more. But I don't think you have to act like everyone else.

and those who hold that sometimes language accomodation is necessary:

> "Bueno, sí, porque imagínate tú...Sí, es muy importante porque a veces no hay una persona que...sepa español y inglés" (30/300).***

2.5 Bilingualism and bilingual education (44-51, 20, 42)

As we have seen from our ethnographic description, this is a stable bilingual community with a wide range of language abilities. We were interested in finding out how residents view the linguistic future of the community and what role they perceive bilingual education to play in it. All of the parents advocate bilingualism for their children. The need for English is clear and stated in terms of jobs and getting around in a society that demands English for most day to day interactions:

"Viviendo aquí lo necesitan para desarrollarse con los trabajos con la demás gente" (21/077). (Living here they need it to get along with others at work).

"Because we're here and for jobs. That's why my people have failed in so many things" (22/482).

"Como vivimos en Estados Unidos, donde quiera que uno va a buscar trabajo, una oficina o donde quiera, ese es el idioma que se habla" (18/255). (Since we live in the U.S. wherever you go to look for work, an office or whatever, that's the language that's spoken).

"Ahora mismo aquí si uno va a un sitio, y no sabe inglés, uno se pierde" (19/00). (Right now if you go to a place and you don't know

---

***Well, yes, because imagine...yes, it's very important because I am one who has a lot of problems when I go places because sometimes there's no one who knows Spanish and English.

English, you're lost).

The need for Spanish is articulated in many more ways. The question of jobs is again foremost among these, given the extensive use of Spanish in local businesses, however, issues like the possibility of moving back to Puerto Rico, the world importance of Spanish, the identification of Puertoricanness with Spanish, and the intrinsic value of knowing more than one language also emerge in the responses: "Aunque ellos son nacidos aquí pues algún día tienen que ir a Puerto Rico a convivir allá con los, con la gente de habla hispano para que se sepan entender" (21/068). (Even if they're born here, someday they'll have to go to Puerto Rico and learn to speak in order to be understood by the people there).

"Spanish is the second most important language (in the world)"(22/033).

"Eso es el idioma de origen de su patria, de la patria de los padres" (18/242). (That's the language of their homeland, of the homeland of their parents).

"I feel like they should know both languages. so they would know how to express themselves in both languages" (34/115).

When asked if Spanish can be learned as well here as in Puerto Rico, half say yes and half say no. The twins' mother feels that: "Si uno pone de su parte, lo puede aprender y no importa que uno está en Estados Unidos" (18/050). (If one really tries, one can learn despite being in the United States). Indio's father qualifies that viewpoint by stating: "Bueno, depende de verdad de que si por lo menos donde uno está se habla sólo español, pues creo que sí" (20/049). (Well, it really depends on whether only Spanish is spoken where you are. If so, then I think you can). The opposing opinion is exemplified by Debbie's grandmother who asserts emphatically that; "No, no se aprende más nunca como allá, no. Unh-unh" (22/169). (No, you never learn it like over there, no. unh-unh.). This is further explained by Conejo's mother who concludes that Spanish is learned in Puerto Rico "porque allá se habla pues la gente...se hace más facil" (30/039) (because over there it's spoken so the people...it's easier). There is no discernible correlation between these responses and the informants' ages, level of education, place of birth, or their child's school program. All but one of those who feel it is impossible to learn Spanish as well here as in Puerto Rico also indicated that the Spanish spoken in New York was different from that spoken in Puerto Rico (see 2.2).

When asked the best place to learn Spanish, only two (Gordito and Ramón's mothers) point to the home, (both children are in monolingual programs) and one quarter insist that both school and home input are crucial to proper learning of the language. More than half of the parents feel that the school is primarily responsible for language instruction. This should not be viewed as an abrogation of duty for Spanish language maintenance, but rather the expression of a legitimate concern on the part of parents that children acquire the literate skills and standard forms which they feel less equipped to provide in the home.

Flaquita's mother feels that formal instruction will help children learn standard Spanish and distinguish between 'real' Spanish and 'Americanized' Spanish:

> "Los que están aquí nacidos de padres puertorriqueños, que no hablan muy bien el español, siempre le cambian el significado a las palabras. Hay veces que las dicen y no saben lo que están diciendo" (21/026).*

Conejo's mother brings up the common predicament of the return migrants and their placement in the educational system: "Cuando muchos niños, tú sabes, los papás los llevan pa' Puerto Rico, se les hace dificil este entrar a la escuela" (30/066). (When a lot of kids, you know, are brought to Puerto Rico by their parents, they find it difficult to enter the schools). Indio's father feels that Spanish deserves the same kind of treatment and formal development as English "por la sencilla razón que este país debe ser un país bilingüe que se hable inglés y español" (20/142). (For the simple reason that this country ought to be a bilingual nation where English and Spanish are spoken).

Such responses are clear evidence of the concern and interest evinced by the parents in the maintenance and cultivation of Spanish via the agency of the schools, and are in keeping with the goal of "bilinguality" (the spoken and written command of both English and Spanish) articulated in the agenda of the National Puerto Rican Task Force on Educational Policy (1977). However, while all of the parents agree that it would be good to teach Spanish in the schools, there is disagreement as to when and for how long this should take place--in other words, whether this should occur within a monolingual English or a bilingual program.

---

*Those that are here born of Puerto Rican parents, who don't speak Spanish very well, are always changing the meaning of words. Sometimes they say them and they don't know what they're saying.

In order to probe this further, we questioned the parents about their perceptions of the goals, forms, and benefits of bilingual education. All of the parents know what kind of program their child is in, whether monolingual or bilingual. Three-quarters approve of their child's placement in that program. The four who don't approve are parents of children in English monolingual classrooms (Ramón, Debbie, María, and Linda) who would prefer that their children be in bilingual classes. With the exception of Debbie and Ramon's parents, all the parents are relatively happy with the progress of their children within the given programs. (Both Debbie and Ramón are in the same class, and their parents are justifiably very vocal in their disapproval of the particular teacher).

When asked about the advantages of bilingual education, most agree that the main benefit is the acquisition of two languages simultaneously:

"Los niños aprenden los dos. Si son puertorriqueños, ¿cuál es el uso de no saber el español?" (26/00). (The children learn both. If they're Puerto Rican, what's the use of not knowing Spanish?)

Half of the group also mentions the improvement of academic achievement and the avoidance of grade retention as important features of bilingual education:

"Si uno los pone en un programa que todo lo hablan en inglés y ellos no hablan inglés, ellos pierden tiempo" (19/00). (If you put them in a program in which everything is in English, and they don't speak English, they lose time). "Lo importante es enseñar el inglés y no perder grado" (24/00). (The important thing is to teach English and not lose grade level).

All but Pito and Gordito's parents favor a maintenance approach to bilingual education in which Spanish is not only used as a way of easing the child into English without disrupting his academic progress, but also developed and maintained as a legitimate and continuing part of the curriculum throughout the child's school career. Both have doubts about the utilization of two languages in the early grades and feel that a young child will only be confused. Gordito's mother expresses her fear that the child will not learn enough English to make it in school. "Yo conozco a muchachos (en clases bilingües) que no saben hablar inglés. La familia enseña el español. Lo importante para la escuela es enseñar el inglés" (17/00). (I know children in bilingual classes who don't know how to speak English. The family teaches Spanish. The important thing for the school is to teach English).

Three-quarters of the parents consider bilingual education to be effective. Most of the others don't really know as they have no direct contact with the bilingual program. Gordito's mother reiterates that the programs can't be effective as they don't teach enough English.

We also asked the parents whether they thought bilingual education was a form of special treatment that earlier ethnic groups didn't have or need, or a right that all language minority children are entitled to. With the exception of Pito's mother who confesses that she doesn't know enough about the rationale behind bilingual education to say, all the parents come out strongly on the side of bilingual education as a definite right for their children (in fact for all children, see Attinasi 1979). As Indio's father puts it, "Tiene que ser un derecho" (20/356). (It has to be a right).

Flaquita's mother offers this opinion:

> Yo creo que es un derecho para ellos porque ellos son de la raza hispana. Tienen que tener el mayor conocimiento de su idioma (21/115).*

And Conejo's mother stresses that just because earlier groups didn't have bilingual education is no reason to deny children today:

> Bueno, en ese tiempo no había esa oportunidad pa'ellos, pues eso es lo que ellos dicen. Pero pa' mi, tú sabes, yo voy a lo, tú sabes, a lo de ahora. Porque anyway no estamos en los tiempos de antes (30/284).**

While these assertions may not calm the protests of the white ethnic groups who feel that the melting pot is still a viable metaphor for acculturation in this society, and who traded in their linguistic heritage for a piece of the American pie,it is evident that these adults are convinced of the correctness of bilingual education both as a solution for the school problems of language minority children and as an enrichment for all children.

The attitudes expressed by these parents are similar to those described in a number of studies of parental and community attitudes toward bilingual education, in Hispanic communities across the country. Most (though not all) of these indicate a great deal of support for bilingual education both as a pedagogical and political concept and as a practical solution to the daily school problems of non-mainstream children (Gutierrez 1972, Adorno 1973, Carrillo 1973, Thomas 1976), this despite a generally low level of understanding of the nature of the bilingual programs (Batisti 1978). Thomas (1976) specifically attempted to relate the level of information among Mexican American parents in Texas to the degree of involvement in the programs and concluded that the parent's overwhelmingly favorable attitudes toward bilingual education were the result of superior parent/school relations in the district. The one negative study (Sutherland 1975) probed the possible relationships between attitudes toward bilingual education and economic and educational status, language loyalty, and perceived ethnicity among Puerto Rican parents in Chicago and found that the most unfavorable attitudes toward bilingual education were held by those parents with lower incomes and relatively weak Spanish language loyalties, not surprisingly also the least informed about the potential benefits of the programs.

---

*I think it's a right for them because they are Hispanic. They have to have the fullest possible understanding of their language.

**Well, at that time that kind of opportunity didn't exist for them, that's why they say that. But for me, you know, I go by, you know, I go by what's now. Because anyway we aren't living in the past.

It is clear then that our sample has its counterparts elsewhere in the nation and that the attitudes expressed here are not particular to Puerto Ricans in New York City.

Let us now turn to consider a similar set of questions for the children of these adults.

3.0 The Children

Children are often neglected in language attitude surveys or only questioned in a very limited manner. Most considerations of language usage go no further than ascertaining the language used most frequently by the child (for example, those commonly used in "home language surveys" administered by schools to aid in placing children in monolingual or bilingual programs). However, the situation is almost always more complicated than commonly offered "language shift" hypotheses would indicate, and requires examination of the many competing factors which affect these children, some of which favor maintenance, others, shift. These include the kinds of perceptions about language and ethnicity they have received from their parents, teachers, peers, and others with whom they come in contact, their own aspirations, the particular school programs in which they are enrolled, and their personal assessment of all these factors. For this reason we chose to supplement our observations by questioning the children directly about their language patterns and attitudes toward language. Despite their youth and lack of familiarity with such self-analysis, the children were quite astute in many ways; for example, Flaquita informed us: "My mother was born EN PUERTO RICO (in Puerto Rico) and I am born here, so that's why I talk both ways" (11/279). Their responses revealed much that was instructive in our analysis.

3.1 Language use (19-25, 30, 15-16, 34)

With the exception of Pito, all the children learned Spanish, or Spanish and English concurrently, as their first language; however, they vary considerably as to the language they feel they use most at this point in their lives. A quarter say they use English most, a quarter say Spanish, and half say both languages. This contrasts strongly with the guardians, three-quarters of whom report using Spanish most. There are two ways to interpret these data: one can see in them clear indication of assimilation towards English on the part of the children of immigrants, or one can view this as evidence of the maintenance of the minority language despite the many obstacles of a society which overwhelmingly advocates the use of English. In other words, depending on the view taken of the category "both", one can conclude that three-quarters of the children have shifted or are in the process of shifting to English, or that three-quarters are holding onto their Spanish while acquiring English.

The former is the most common interpretation --that English is winning out with these children and that Spanish is being lost. Such a conclusion seems to be the more likely when we examine the language children claim to prefer when asked: "Which language do you like to talk best?" Three-fifths favor English, and the rest are evenly divided between those who prefer Spanish and those who have no preference. Some of the reasons given for the English preference are that one learns more in English, that English is easier, or more challenging, that those around them speak English, or that they simply don't like Spanish:

"Inglés es bueno porque en inglés tú aprendes mucho y en español no aprendes nada" (12/036). (English is good cause in English you learn a lot and in Spanish you don't learn anything).

"English is better cause Spanish you learn it fast. English, too, but it's difficult, you know" (10/461).

"Everybody in this house talk in English" (8/487).

"I don't like 'cómo está' ('how are you'). I don't understand that" (2/229).

Such responses are not surprising given that all but two of the children were born in New York City or came from Puerto Rico in infancy, and have been under the influence of an English-speaking society all their lives. The comments regarding learning more in Spanish are reflective of (and reinforced by) the larger society which perceives English as the language of intellectual development. Spanish is not commonly utilized in the same way and therefore becomes associated with the affective needs of the community alone.

The three children who claim to use Spanish most frequently are the same three who like it the most, namely Herminio, a recent arrival from the island, and Iris and Chico, whose parents do not speak English. As we have seen from our ethnographic observations, however, migratory experience and the language ability of a child's guardians can only partially explain his own linguistic patterns.

In order to get a clearer idea of the precise distribution of the two languages in the children's repertoires (for all but Pito have access to both on a daily basis), we looked at specific interactants and the language used with them by the child (see Figure Y).

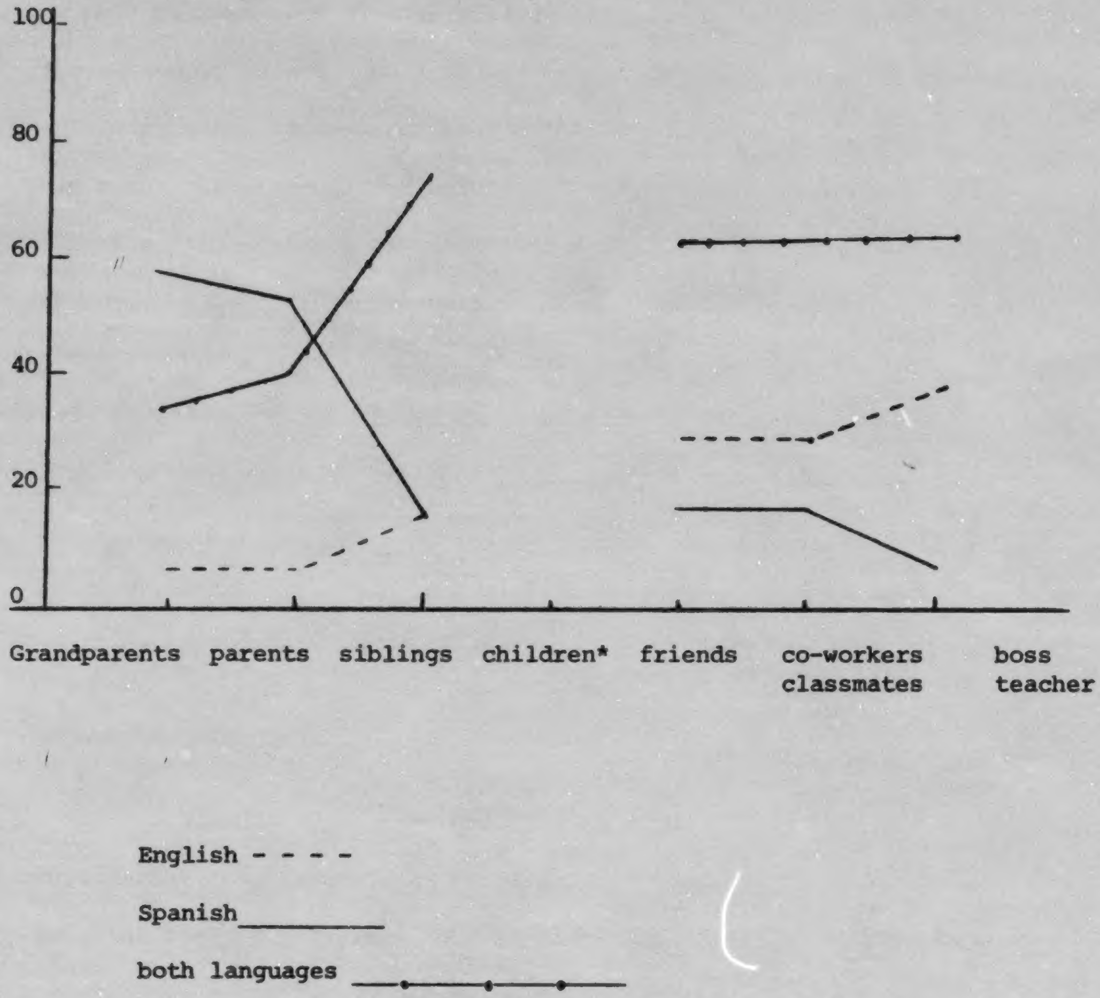


Figure Y

Language used by children with different interactants

---

*There are no responses for this category for obvious reasons.

The children's language profile differs considerably from that of their parents. While the adults favor Spanish overwhelmingly with all interactants, the children tend to use both languages. The only interactions which appear to require Spanish-only are those with grandparents or parents. After that there is a sudden fall-off in Spanish-only usage and a concomitant rise in usage of both languages together. English-only usage, interestingly enough, never exceeds 33%.

Once again, the amount of Spanish-only usage reported decreases steadily as the family-centered nature of the relationships decreases. The opposite is true for English-only usage.

As with the parents, there is some degree of unclarity about what is meant by "both languages", and we again probed into the issue of language mixing or code-switching.

3.1.1 Code-switching

All of the children except Pito correctly acknowledge that they mix English and Spanish. The children have varied reactions towards switching. Half feel that mixing is good, natural, or just fun. The other half view it as not good or downright bad--"It's a mix-up" (4/233) says Josie, one of our more prodigious code-switchers. Some give examples of code-switching, though none are as complex or fluid as the forms produced naturally during the taped sessions: "Look AL SENOR." (Look at the man) (3/100). "They say, 'COMPRA ESTO.' Buy it." (8/533).

When asked if their teachers (bilingual and monolingual) switch in the classroom, two-thirds of the children state that they do not, which corresponds to what the teachers claim, though not our observations. Four of the five who say their teachers switch are in bilingual classes. The children also indicate that most of their teachers tend to scold if the children mix languages during class time, and only a quarter feel that their teachers view switching as acceptable. This is in direct contrast to the more tolerant image reported and observed on the part of most of the teachers (particularly the bilingual ones). One boy says laughingly: "Our teacher used to tell me like, ah, 'Talk one language. You shouldn't talk two languages at the same time.' I used to tell her, 'I talk BILINGÜE' " (bilingual) (16/065).

As for switching among their parents, the children are evenly divided between those who say their parents do mix the languages, and those who say they don't. All of those who report no mixing have monolingual Spanish parents. The children are also evenly divided on the question of whether their parents view switching as acceptable, though only a quarter of the parents express any great discomfiture with regard to switching on the part of their children.

Though they indicate need as a rationale for code-switching, the children (like their parents) find it difficult to give concrete examples of words they know in one language but not the other. Thirteen of the fourteen who responded to this question admit that there are many things they can't say. Some examples given include the words in English for _cortina_, _pala de cocinar_, _retrato_, _techo_, _franco_, _pana_; the words in Spanish for _monkey_, _elevator_, and _vicious_.* Note that these are not terms which by their nature are difficult to translate (such as culturally-bound or ethnically-loaded items) but simply words for which the child has not yet learned, or cannot remember, the translation.[8] The nature of, and motivation for, code-switching will be discussed in more detail in Chapter

---

*_curtain_, _wooden spoon_, _picture_, _roof_, _frank_, _pal_; _mono_, _ascensor_, _vicioso_.

3.2 Language varieties (35, 33, 38)

The children were able to tell us very little about the differences and similarities between varieties, possibly due to their relatively more limited exposure to a wide range of speakers (despite the variety of speakers in the Barrio, most of the children function in narrow, family-centered circles) and their less-developed meta-linguistic awareness (the older the child, the more awareness was evidenced). As we had anticipated such a difficulty, we attempted to elicit linguistic judgments via more non-linguistic routes like ethnicity. (This is further developed in 3.4).

We asked the children: Is being Puerto Rican different from being another kind of American? It is different from being another kind of Hispano? Two-thirds of the children feel that Puerto Ricans are different from other Americans, though most find it difficult to articulate what the difference is, whether linguistic or not. In contrast, there is considerably more doubt in the children's minds as to whether Puerto Ricans are different from other Hispanics. A quarter don't know at all, and the others are split in opinion. None were able to indicate any distinguishing features of non-Puerto Rican dialects of Spanish, despite the fact that three of the teachers at school are non-Puerto Rican and many Hispanics from various nations live in El Barrio. (Linda mentioned Ricky Ricardo on the "I Love Lucy" show as being Cuban, and Herminio talked about his Dominican classmate, but neither could pinpoint what made their speech distinct. Pito's mother mentioned that the family had some close friends who were Dominican and Cuban, but Pito wasn't aware of that fact, and couldn't comment on any differences in their speech).

Interestingly enough, three-fifths of the children feel that Blacks speak differently from them, though only the two older girls (María and Linda) are able to give any linguistic reasons why. María cites pronunciation and voice quality as being a distinguishing feature of Black speech. Linda explains that:

> They, like, have more streetwise talk. I tried it one time, but it was funny. Like sometimes when I'm talking to my sister, and she tells me 'Go take down the garbage' or something, I say 'Oh, man'. You know, I say words like that (14/404).

The only difference that one of the younger children is able to come up with is that "they (Blacks) talk INGLES" (English) (11/071), an assessment which accurately describes the role of Blacks in the barrio as English role models. Half of the children have no desire to speak like Blacks; the others are divided evenly betwen those who do and those who don't know or didn't answer. It is also interesting to see that three of those who say they wouldn't want to speak like Blacks have what would be termed Black English features in their speech (Debbie, Ramón, Conejo).

We will return to some of these issues in the section on language and ethnicity. Let us turn now to the investigation of just what constitutes 'good' language.

3.3 Good language (26-28, 32-33)

Our primary interest here was in determining what the children consider to be prestige varieties of their languages. Most of the children perceive this as a very difficult question, and half were unable to respond at all for either language, further indication of their still undeveloped meta-linguistic awareness at this age. Those with some idea of what good Spanish is, offer the following criteria in order of frequency (some offer more than one): pronunciation -- "Hablan li, li, li" (6/614), speed of delivery -- "They talk fast!" (9/148), avoidance of obscenities, and birth and education of the speaker in a country where Spanish is spoken. Even fewer have any idea of what constitutes good English, and the same criteria are offered: pronunciation, vocabulary, and freedom from obscenities. Despite their difficulties, the children came up with many of the same characteristics as did their guardians.

When asked to give examples of good speakers of either language, all but two of the children were able to think of some. Their choices, as opposed to those of their guardians, tend to be very particular (e.g. Tracy, my sister, Ms. Hernández); however, in general, good Spanish is exemplified by parents, older siblings, grandparents, teachers, and relatives in Puerto Rico. Good English is exemplified by friends at school or adolescents. Clearly the children find their role models for each language in different places.

The children are much more sure than the adults as to whether they themselves speak good Spanish or English. Three-fifths claim to speak good Spanish; all but two of these have been in a bilingual class at some point in their lives. Half of the children assert that they speak good English; three of these are in bilingual classes, as are all of those who say that they do not speak good English.

Herminio, who characterizes himself as a good Spanish speaker, explains his ability as follows: "Lo aprendí y nací en el país...en el sitio de donde viene el lenguaje" (13/068). (I learned it and I was born in the country...in the place where the language comes from). Linda, who downgrades her ability to speak in Spanish, justifies her negative self assessment by saying that:

> "There's a lot of people that I know that are Spanish... like when they say something to me in Spanish, I can't find the words to say it back, you know, like the correct words instead of different words for different meanings" (14/238).

Iris, who favors Spanish, boasts about her command of English thus far:

"Yo sé BATHROOM, GIRL, BOY, CLASS, CLASS NEWS, CLASS NEWS que es oir las noticias, um BEARS, y MOTHER, FATHER" (2/105).*

In general, (and somewhat surpringly) the children have much more to say about their Spanish than their English, perhaps because they take their English for granted as the unmarked language of their social situation as students and children in the U.S. It could also be that they are more sensitized to their Spanish because of their awareness of being Puerto Rican and different from other children with regard to language heritage. The fact that adults spend a lot of time bemoaning or praising the absence or presence of Spanish abilities in their children, may also account for this heightened consciousness.

---

*I know bathroom, girl, boy, class, class news, class news which is hearing news, um bears, and mother, father.

We asked the children if there are any features of their speech (in either language) that are constantly corrected by their parents or teachers. The children find it hard to recall specific examples, but most say they are often corrected, particularly in Spanish pronunciation (e.g. saying te apesto for te acuesto, pedióríco for periódico, Poco Rico for Puerto Rico)[9]. The kinds of corrections received in English involve the use of "bad" words, reading mistakes, and the confusion of may and can, the latter two from teachers.

We further asked the children if they want to improve their command of either language. Three-quarters responded that one or both of their languages could stand improvement. All of the reasons given for improvement are related to the advantages available to the person who speaks two languages perfectly--more friends,better job opportunities, the ability to deal with all kinds of people (As Chico puts it: "Si yo soy policía y viene alguien y me dice 'Onde el Bronx?', yo le digo 'Por ahí, por allá, por ahí' y si es inglés o español, yo le digo 'Por ahí, por allá'" (6/572). (If I'm a policeman and someone comes and asks 'Where's the Bronx?' I'll tell them 'Over there, over there' and if it's English or Spanish, I'll tell them 'Over there, over there').

3.4 Language and ethnicity (29, 36-37)

A series of questions aimed at clarifying the relationship between language and ethnicity touched upon earlier elicited the following responses. When asked their reaction if identified as Puerto Rican by their speech patterns alone, half feel a sense of pride and half have no strong feelings about it. The twins, surprisingly, do not want to be labelled as Puerto Rican because they "don't like"

Puerto Ricans. Whether the pride expressed or lack of same is related to language is unclear.

We tried to get at this in another question: "Do you think a Puerto Rican kid should know how to speak Spanish?"

Twelve answered in the affirmative. Two others (both in bilingual classes, somewhat ironically) feel that Puerto Ricans don't have to speak Spanish and one last didn't know. When asked why there are Puerto Rican children who don't speak any Spanish, the children respond: "Porque son de aquí, de Nueva York" (12/239). (Because they're from here, from New York). "No les enseñan hablar. Han estado mucho tiempo y se acustumbraron más al inglés" (13/148). (They don't get taught to speak. They've been here a long time and they're more used to English). Conejo is even more analytical about the question:

> Cause they speak English with their mother and their mothers probably were born here, or they (the mothers) want them to speak English if they (the mothers) don't know how to speak it well. Then they (the children) turn to the other language for they could speak it well.

On somewhat of a different note, we asked if they would be friends with someone who doesn't speak their stronger language. Almost all the children answer yes, most adding that language ability doesn't matter much to them. Race or ethnicity seems to be more salient to the children; thirteen would befriend such a child if the child was white; while only eight would do so if the child was Black. These attitudes, together with those expressed earlier about Black English, indicate that the traditional biases still linger among the younger generation (see Padilla 1958, Thomas 1967, Fishman, Cooper, and Ma 1971).

3.5 Bilingualism and bilingual education (39-45, 13-14)

While we never directly asked the children whether they considered bilingualism to be a positive feature of their lives, we did attempt to investigate this issue through indirect questions about their future children, their friends, their career goals, and their preferred school program.

When we questioned the children about what language they would want their own children to speak some day, 9 of the 12 children who answered this question say that they want their children to speak both languages. Only Dorcas favors English for her future children, somewhat surprising given her enrollment in the bilingual program and her good skills in both languages. If these responses are recorded on the language profile graph (Figure Y), the category "both languages" peaks sharply at siblings and children, in sharp contrast to the pattern shown in Figure X for the parents.

We also asked about the language abilities of each child's closest friends both in and out of school. The children are fairly evenly divided among those who name predominantly bilingual, English-speaking, and Spanish-speaking friends. All of those with predominantly Spanish-speaking friends (in and out of school) are in the bilingual classes. All but one of those with predominantly English-speaking friends are in monolingual classes.

Another question deals with the children's perception of the utility of the languages in future careers (i.e. the instrumental aspects of bilingualism). Projected careers include: fireman, policeman, doctor, ballerina, cleaning worker, movie star, soldier, nurse, private detective, singer, teacher, pilot, photographer, beautician, and mechanic, and two thirds of the children feel that both languages will be helpful in their chosen careers, indicating an appreciation of the benefits of bilingualism, at least economically. Three feel that Spanish will not be helpful, and one (who wants to be a ballerina) feels that English won't be of any use.

Linda feels that knowing both languages will be helpful to her in almost any job:

> "because like if there's somebody, a customer... I'm a cashier and there's a customer that comes in that wants me to translate...um...Spanish. Or another person like the boss or something who's white and he can't talk Spanish, so he akses 'What is she saying?' So I be translating languages." (14/449)

The preferences given for school programs are especially interesting in light of the language preferences considered at the beginning of this section. Six children prefer English monolingual classes (all of these also indicate that they prefer to speak English). Nine prefer bilingual classes (three of these prefer to speak Spanish and six like both languages equally well). The children's choice of programs, thus, is extremely consistent with their choice of languages. Interestingly enough, with only two exceptions (Juanita, who is in a bilingual class but is convinced that one learns more in English than in Spanish and María, who is in a monolingual class but was once in a bilingual class), all of the children give as their preferred program the program they are actually in.

Those that prefer being in bilingual classes give reasons like the following: "To learn more better Spanish" (15/090), and "Cause like that I could learn...um for me, I learn faster" (16/060).

"Para que uno se entiende con la gente, con la gente que habla español y la gente que habla inglés" (13/042). (So that you can get along with people, people who speak Spanish and people who speak English). Those that favor monolingual classes react in this way: "In Spanish, you don't know how to read and write in Spanish. They say something and you don't like it --I don't understand" (9/303), and "Because they teach you more English" (9/086).

The general conclusion to be drawn from the four indirect measures of attitude towards bilingualism is that in all cases, the majority of the children in the sample are in favor of using both languages now and for the future.

- - -

We will now complete our examination of language attitudes by looking at the teachers who are responsible for the perpetuation of many of the attitudes of the other two groups.

4.0 The teachers

As we have not considered the teachers as a group earlier in this report, what follows is a brief demographic sketch to facilitate comprehension of the attitudes described in this section.

Fourteen teachers had one or more of the children in our sample in their classes during the two years of our study and agreed to participate in our attitude survey. They are a varied group and representative of a broad spectrum of personal and professional experience. Eight teach in the bilingual program (all Hispanics) and six in the English monolingual program (all non-Hispanics). They range in age from 24 to over 40, and all but one are women.

Nine were born in the United States (including three Puerto Ricans), and five were born in Spanish-speaking countries (three in Puerto Rico). Those born outside of the U.S. have all been in the country for more than ten years, with all but one having migrated to New York in adulthood. While all received their higher education in the U.S., half of the bilingual teachers attended schools in the country of their birth. Like the guardians, most of the teachers attended public schools in their youth; however, three were enrolled in Catholic schools and two others were sent to secular private schools (including a special bilingual school). One of the teachers attended the very school in which this research was conducted.

The teachers have had from three to twenty one years teaching experience, with the average being about ten years. All have taught in this school for at least two years, and one veteran teacher has been in the school for the past twenty years.

Overall, the teachers appear to be representative of the general population of teachers in the district, especially the bilingual ones (see Attinasi 1980).

In what follows, we will examine the attitudes of all the teachers; however, our emphasis will necessarily be on those who teach in the bilingual program.

4.1 Language usage (9-14, 16, 28-29)

Ten of the fourteen teachers speak languages other than English. The Hispanic teachers and one non-Hispanic speak Spanish. Other languages spoken include Czech, Gallego, and Polish. The four monolingual teachers consider themselves 'non-language learners' despite high school and college training in French of Spanish and extensive travels throughout the world.

All of the bilingual teachers learned Spanish in infancy or early childhood, generally as their first language. All indicate home as the site of learning Spanish, although half were educated completely in Spanish before arriving in the U.S. English, in contrast, was acquired in childhood only by the four raised in N.Y.C. plus another who learned it in a bilingual school in Latin America. The others learned it in school in adulthood.

The group of bilingual teachers is divided as to the language used most frequently: three say Spanish, four both, and only one English. However, when asked which language they feel is their strongest, only two of the Hispanics cite Spanish (both learned English in their late teens); two others feel that they are equally capable in both of their languages. The four raised in New York indicate that they favor English.

As with the parents and the children, we attempted to delve further into the question of language frequency and preference by examining the languages these bilingual teachers use with different interactants. Figure Z illustrates the pattern of responses, by far the most erratic of the three groups.

It is clear from examining the graph that there is a sharp division between language patterns in family-centered and non-family centered interactions. With parents, siblings, children, there is some interplay among the categories of Spanish-only, and both. As would be expected, most report Spanish with parents, though a good-sized minority (29%) report using both. With siblings and children, the majority of the teachers are evenly divided between reporting

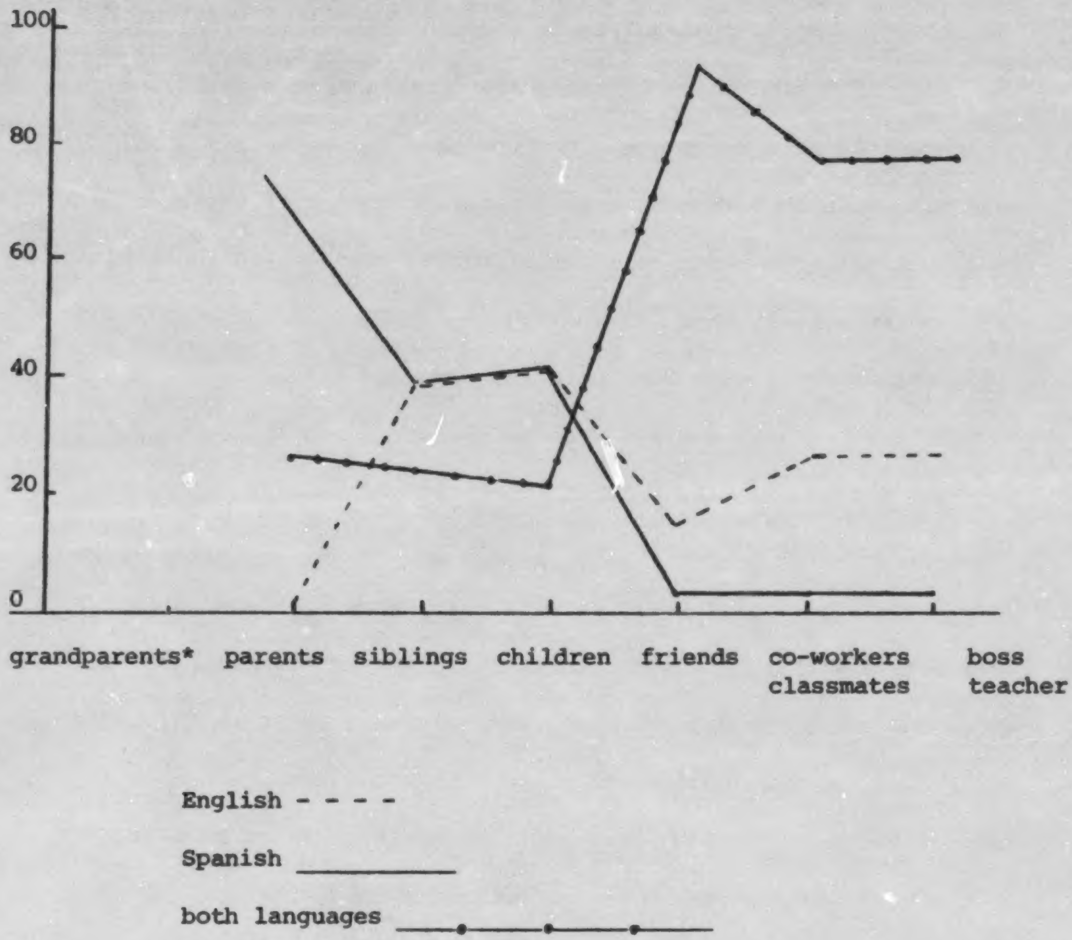


Figure Z

Language used by bilingual teachers with different interactants

---

*The teachers were not asked about their grandparents, though as with the parents, it may be assumed that only Spanish would have been used with members of that generation.

English-only and Spanish-only. It is with friends, co-workers, boss that the situation changes drastically with a huge majority of the bilingual teachers reporting both languages and virtually none reporting Spanish-only. This is clearly a product of their roles as bilingual teachers which call for bilingual usage in the work-place the way few other jobs do.

Figures R,S, and T compare the language allocation patterns for the three groups and allow us to see more clearly how the bilingual teachers differ from the parents and children. As can be seen in Figure R, while the parents and teachers agree on the virtually non-existent use of English-only with parents, they part ways when interacting with siblings and children, the teachers peaking well above the other two groups. Interestingly enough, it is the parents who report the most English-only use with non-intimates, which may reflect the kinds of jobs they have, or again may just be a product of the very small number of respondents for this question.

In Figure S, we see the bilingual teachers in an intermediate postion between the parents and children in their use of Spanish-only. All three graphs follow the same downward progression as the interactants become increasingly distant in relation. It is only with their own children that the same number of bilingual teachers report using Spanish as do the guardians (40%). The biggest difference comes in the right-hand side of the graph, where almost none of the bilingual teachers report using Spanish-alone with friends, co-workers, and boss. This is clearly a reflection of their job which brings them into contact with speakers of both Spanish and English.

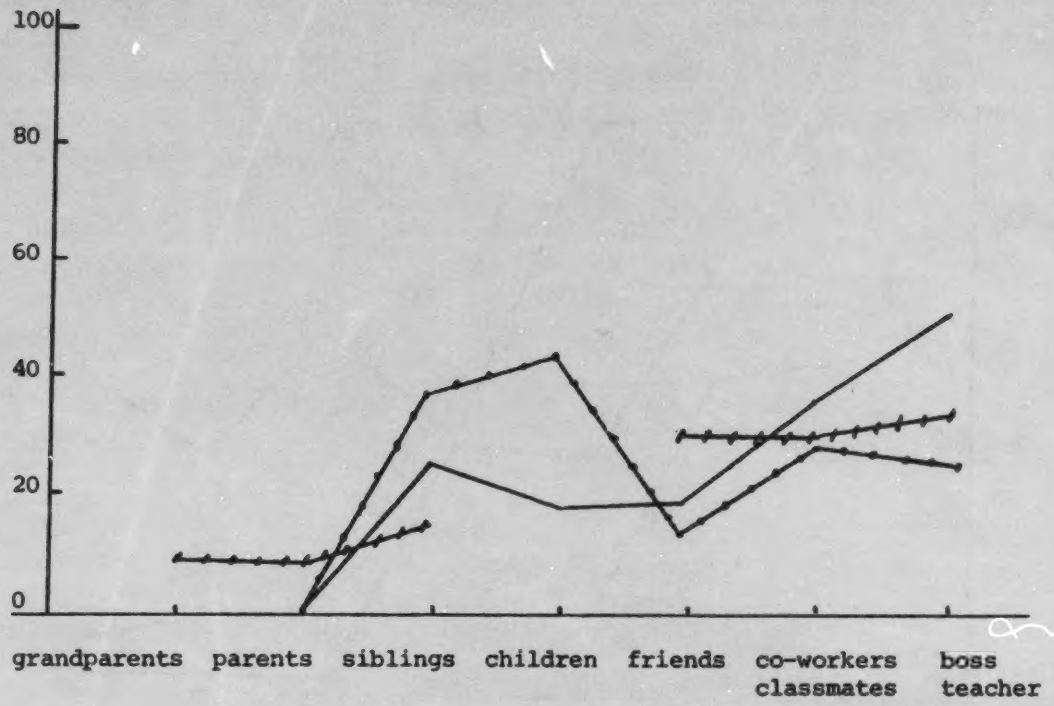


Figure R

Speakers reporting English-only with different interactants

Parents ————

Children —/—/—/—

Bilingual teachers —●—●—●—

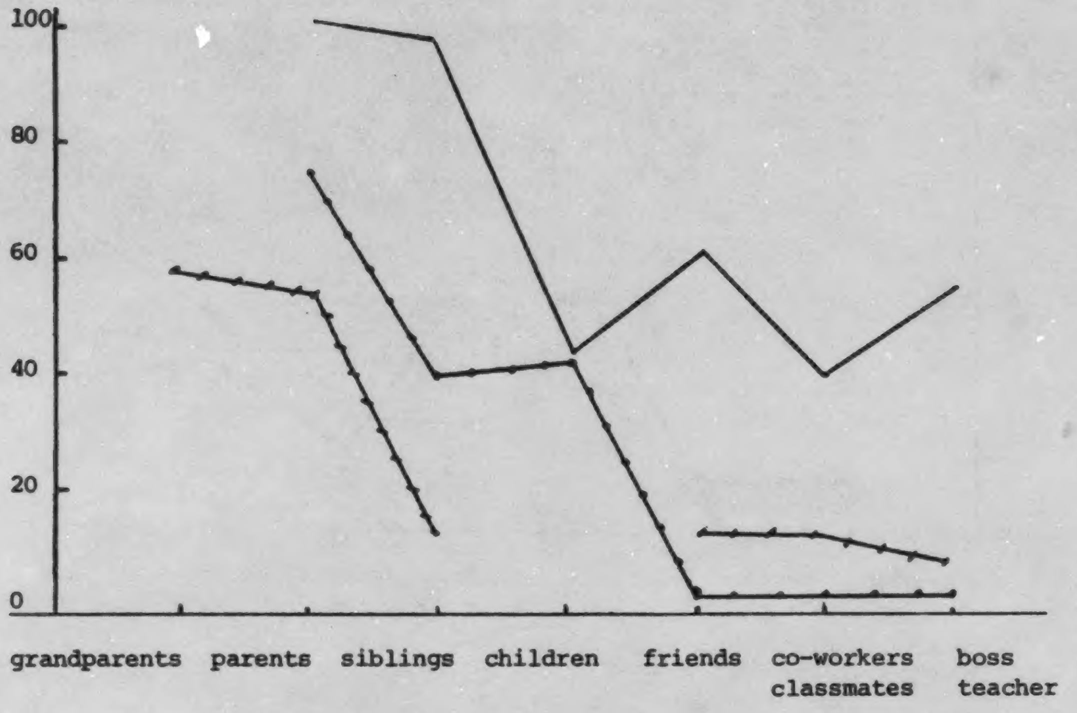


Figure S

Speakers reporting Spanish-only with different interactants

Parents ———

Children —/—/—/—

Bilingual teachers —●—●—●—

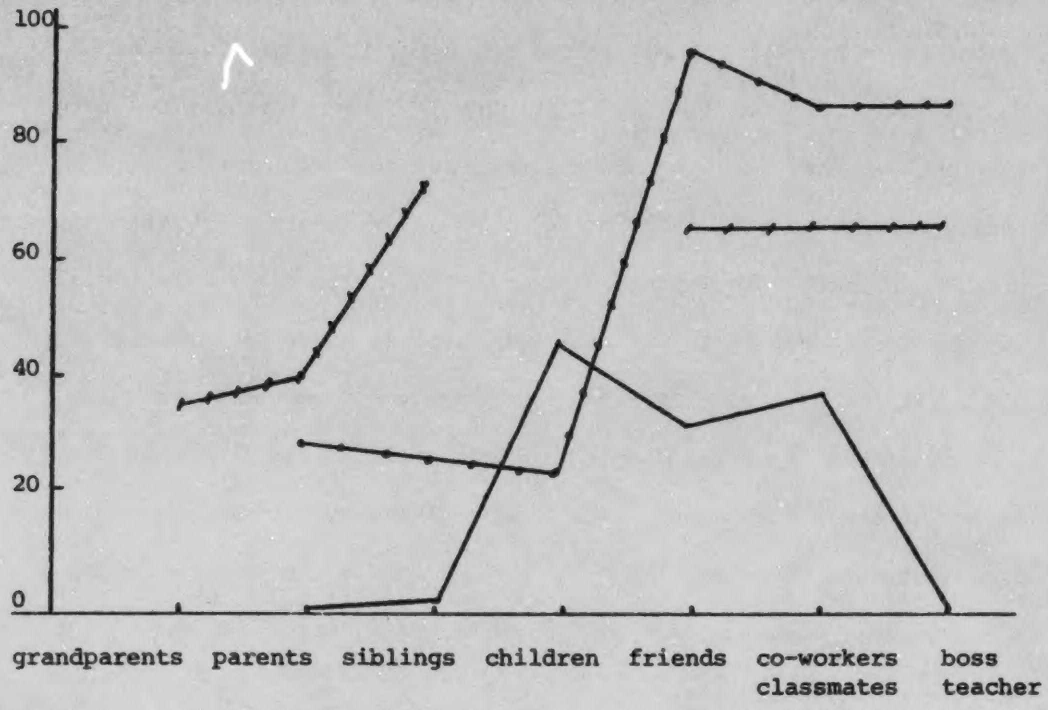


Figure T

Speakers reporting both languages with different interactants

Parents ───────

Children —+—+—+—

Bilingual teachers —●—●—●—

The most striking comparison among the three groups comes in the category of "both languages" (Figure T) The bilingual teachers fall between the parents and children in their report of both languages with parents and siblings, and surprisingly lower than the parents in using both languages together in interactions with their own children. But it is with the non-familial contacts that the bilingual teachers most distinguish themselves from the parents, peaking at 86% reporting "both" in interactions with friends. The effect of their occupation as bilingual teachers is at its strongest here, as these teachers have to manipulate both languages (in code-switching and separately) daily, on a more conscious basis than do most bilinguals.

For this reason, we were particularly interested in hearing from the teachers on the subject of code-switching which we turn to in the next section.

4.1.1 Code-switching

In order to approach the question of code-switching somewhat indirectly, we first asked the teachers (both bilingual and monolingual) whether there are times when no equivalent is possible (a potential site for a switch). Almost all of the teachers (compared to only half of the guardians) feel that there are aspects of every language that cannot be translated into another language. They give as examples proverbs, idioms, poetry, technical terms, and the expression of emotion and other subtleties of culture.

When asked directly if they ever switch from one language to another, nine of the teachers (including seven of the bilingual teachers) acknowledge that they do. The reasons given for switching are many and include ease in style, lack of vocabulary, topical emphasis, virtuosity, and lack of awareness, or monitoring:

> Sometimes it's easier to say something in another language. Sometimes it's more fun. Sometimes it means something more in one language than in another (82/379).
>
> Let's say...I'm speaking to you in Spanish and I feel that at that point I can't say what I want to say in Spanish, because I don't know the word...I don't know the terminology. I would just say it in English cause I just don't have the words, I guess, or the vocabulary (74/556).
>
> Sometimes if you want to emphasize something and you know that the word carries more strength in your language or something like that and the person will understand it, I guess that would be a reason for doing it (81/183).
>
> En muchas ocasiones yo me encuentro corta. Cuando voy a decir algo como de momento se me olvida el vocablo ese que voy a usar. Y tengo que pensarlo si no quiero echarle mano a la palabra que en inglés es la primera que viene a la mente. Y tengo que como premeditarlo...quito lo que recuerdo...el que yo sé, como que bien se me viene la computadora y me dice 'No, no ese.' (71/450).*

Twelve of the teachers note that code-switching is very common: "There's constant switching" (82/385). Examples given include majadero for 'pest', ay, papi, and la water. Most feel it is natural and can't be helped. Some prefer to restrict switching to the sentence or thought level (e.g. one says she avoids intra-sentential switches like 'A niña wore a red dress'). Others point out that switching is sometimes used to exclude people and can be discourteous. Only four (all bilingual) have definitely negative feelings about switching and justify their opposition citing the danger of confusing or badly influencing children, and the tendency to shortchange each of the individual languages in the learning process. As one teacher puts it:

---

*On many occasions I find myself caught short. When I go to say something like momentarily I forget the word I was going to use. And I have to think about if if I don't want to grab the English word which comes to mind first. And I have to like premeditate it... I take out the word I remember...the one I know, as if the computer came to me and said, 'No, not that one'.

> I'm thinking in terms of a child I had one time, and it wasn't the child's fault. I mean, this child came from a family where the family was constantly mixing both and as a result the child wasn't dominant one way or the other and couldn't function in either language or both (81/270).

This is a viewpoint commonly expressed by educators and scholars alike - the bogeyman of 'alinguality'.

Regardless of the position taken, most of the teachers express the conviction that one should be conscious of switching and use it only when appropriate:

> The person should know that they are switching from English to Spanish. They should be aware of what they're doing. And when sometimes it isn't appropriate (82/379).

All of the teachers have noticed children in their classes code-switching at some time or another. They attribute this behavior to fashion, vocabulary needs, attempts to get attention, ease of expression, playfulness, parental models, and influence from the media. Almost none of the teachers have serious objections to their children code-switching in the classroom, though they report that they usually supply the words needed in the given language so that the children will remember for the future:

> Si los niños por ejemplo me dicen, este, 'Pues, ayer no pude venir a la escuela porque en mi bildin hubo un fuego.' En el caso ese yo les suplo la palabra: 'Bildin en español se dice edificio' (71/470).*

The teachers who have no strong objection to code-switching in the classroom say they allow it to encourage self-expression regardless of their own personal feelings about switching:

> If they're having trouble expressing the idea, the important thing is that they say what they have to say, not that, you know... Many times when they're trying to say something and I don't understand what they're trying to say, I tell them, 'Well, tell me in Spanish' because I just don't understand them in English (74/580).
>
> I'm more concerned with what they're learning than with the language. You know, it's go to it, you know, whatever language you can get across (81/150).
>
> They are trying the best they can to get their ideas across. I can sympathize with them (83/150).

One teacher feels that her attitude toward switching depends on the particular task at hand; in a social studies lesson it won't matter but in a language arts lesson, it will, she said. Three others shrug and say that code-switching exists and there isn't much they can do but try and make the most of it (e.g. use switches to expand vocabulary, explain differences between the languages, analyze errors, etc.).

---

*If the children for example say to me: 'Well, yesterday I couldn't come to school because there was a fire in my building.' In that case, I supply the word for them: 'Building in Spanish is edificio'.

Three of the bilingual teachers, however, are adamant that such speech patterns should not be permitted because they are harmful to the children and exhibit a lack of discipline. The three opponents also underline the need for teachers to be a good model for the children.

We also asked the teachers if they ever switch languages in the classroom and, if so, for what reasons. Eleven respond that they do, at least sometimes, including one who describes herself as English monolingual. Two absolutely deny doing so. Virtually all of those who admit to some switching explain it as a conscious act for the purposes of clarifying lessons, getting the children's attention, or making a joke. One states that it only happens with him as a slip of the tongue. The general impression here is that regardless of expressed attitudes toward code-switching, the teachers are not disposed to switching in front of the children unless there is a clear pedagogical motive:

> I try not to (switch in the classroom). I may if I'm teaching in English and I see them all looking at me like I've got three heads, then I'll just throw in that concept or word in Spanish, so they know what I'm referring to, but I really try to keep my languages separate so as not to confuse them (74/590).

This is in keeping with the approach of Jacobson (1976) who instructs teachers in the art of motivated code-switching. It remains to be seen whether this in any way reflects the norms of the community. It is most unlikely that all switches are consciously 'motivated'.

Despite the reluctance to switch languages in front of the children in the classroom, the teachers express an unexpected degree of tolerance toward switching in general. This may be due to the somewhat enlightened curriculum of the teacher training program in which most of the respondents are enrolled (particularly the bilingual teachers), or it may be an instance of the respondents trying to impress the interviewer with their liberality and progressive attitudes. Then again, it may be part of basic survival in the classroom, a concrete case of accepting those things that can't be changed, changing those that can, and having the wisdom to know the difference, as a popular classroom poster advises.

This is clearly the case when it comes to code-switching outside of class. Thirteen of the fourteen teachers feel that it is beyond their authority: "Fuera de la escuela la gente hace lo que le da la gana" (71/507). (Outside of school people do what they feel like doing).

4.2 Language varieties (17-19, 30)

Once we had some idea of the attitudes toward switching, we then turned to an examination of the actual varieties spoken by Puerto Ricans here and on the island. Half of the teachers (compared to three-quarters of the parents) feel that there are decided differences between the Spanish spoken here and in Puerto Rico, citing English influence, particularly in vocabulary, as evidence. The others are divided between those who perceive no difference between N.Y. and island Spanish and those who don't know (all monolinguals). One teacher points to the fact that the same language and the same variations in pronunciation and vocabulary exist in N.Y. and on the island; another concludes that it is precisely because of English influence that N.Y. Puerto Rican Spanish doesn't differ from the island variety, given that the island itself has been under English influence for a long time. Our research thus far indicates that the former is closest to the truth; however, it is difficult to completely discount the latter possibility. When asked if Puerto Rican Spanish is different from Colombian Spanish, all of the eight who felt qualified to answer consider that there is indeed a difference. Most point to pronunciation or accent, vocabulary, speed of delivery, and intonation patterns. In contrast, when comparing Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish, only five of the eight responding see a difference (again of pronunciation, vocabulary, speed or intonation). This reflects the general stigma which Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish share and which Colombian Spanish does not. It also reflects the genuinely greater differences that exist between Caribbean and Latin American Spanish than between Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish.

We then asked the Spanish-speaking teachers if they thought they spoke like Puerto Ricans. Half feel they do; the others contend that they do not. Three of the latter are not Puerto Rican; the fourth interpreted the question to refer disparagingly to the speech spoken by uneducated Puerto Ricans in the streets, a variety with which she wants no connection. This idea that Puerto Rican Spanish is synonymous with non-standard Spanish was not as widespread as we thought it would be.

We also asked about the English spoken by Puerto Ricans in New York City. Nine of the teachers identify some degree of influence from Black English, primarily in the lexicon, though pronunciation (t/d deletion), grammar (incorrect tenses), and rhythm are also signalled. Most see this (like music and dance) as the product of the proximity of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the community:

> I think that it's a matter of how much interaction there is. You know, in a neighborhood where you've got a large mixture...you know where there's just about...I think you're going to have more contact, so some of it may be (influenced by Black English). The kids pick up expressions from each other just like we all do (11/297).

Others indicate an awareness of the covert prestige that talking like Blacks has for many young people.

As for the English spoken by whites in New York City, almost all of the teachers agree that it has a strong influence on the English of Puerto Ricans, especially via the media and the schools (read teachers).

4.3 Good language (24-27)

We were very interested in ascertaining the teachers' opinions about 'good' language, since they are professionally entrusted with developing spelling, proper speech, vocabulary, and other commonly perceived hallmarks of 'good language'. Most of the teachers found the question thought-provoking; some were rather disgusted with it, and called it a loaded question. Half feel that there is indeed something that can be identified as good Spanish. Among the other half is one bilingual teacher who is firm in stating that there can be no judgement of good in spoken speech. Another, a rather linguistically-sophisticated bilingual teacher, is very worried about just what is called 'good' Spanish and argues that to decide on one variety is to negate the validity of the others:

> Good Spanish?--are we talking about formal Spanish, Castilian Spanish? Is that good Spanish? I don't know. That's a tricky question because if I say something like 'yeah, Castilian Spanish, or that sort of Spanish...along those lines of Spanish, then that's saying what we speak isn't good Spanish. But it's just as good as any other Spanish (74/491).

Those who believe there is such a thing as 'good' Spanish characterize it as written, grammatical, well pronounced, with an extended vocabulary, organized, embodying cultural understanding, free from English mixture, and part of a community-wide norm. One in answering quotes part of a poem about Spanish:

La lengua que yo adoro	'The language that I adore
La lengua de versos de oro	The language of golden verses
De vibración marcial (82/350).	of martial vibration.'

Good English draws even more response: ten of the fourteen agree that such a thing exists. Those who object to the term 'good Spanish' object again here. 'Good English' is described in almost the same terms as 'good Spanish':

> Good English...I feel that you have to make yourself understood, be able to use the language easily and that it's language that is um...standardized... should I say acceptable language, so that even though there may be differences from one area to another or one country to another, that you can make yourself basically understood (81/132).

> Being able to put the verbs in their proper tenses, using the proper nouns and adjectives. Using the eight parts of speech where they should be (78/206).

Only five of the teachers judge that they speak good Spanish. This includes four of those who teach in the bilingual program plus one monolingual program teacher. In contrast, all of the teachers claim to speak good English. Some specific examples of what the teachers feel is not good English include: 'he won me', 'I ain't, 'I is', 'youse'. One (a white) says that good English is definitely "not Black American English. That's fun to speak but it's just as much of a handicap as not knowing English" (82/360).

4.4 Language and ethnicity (20, 31, 22, 43)

In response to the question: "If someone told you that you talked Spanish like a Puerto Rican, would you take it as a compliment?", half of the teachers (bilingual and monolingual alike) answer yes, stressing in the case of the Puerto Ricans their pride in their nationality and in the case of the non-Puerto Ricans their pride in sounding native-like:

"I'm proud of what I am" (5/00).

"It means I speak it well" (6/00).

"I would feel honored" (8/175).

Those that see something derogatory about such an identification point to societal judgments of inferiority --'chopped' Spanish, lack of vocabulary, speed, sloppiness. One bilingual teacher puts it this way:

> Any time anyone says something like that, it's usually derogatory. I've always gotten the feeling that of all the maybe Caribbean Islands, the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico is sort of the inferior one, you know. I don't know- it's just a feeling. I think people think it is cause there's usually the feeling that Cubans speak better Spanish. I know it's just attitudes people have, yeah (3/370).

A Spanish-speaking teacher in the monolingual program explains it in a similar way:

> I would probably think that they were saying that I spoke a poorer Spanish than I do. Because they usually think I speak Cuban or something (12/112).

A final statement from a monolingual teacher typifies attitudes toward Puerto Rican Spanish often heard outside the community:

> I'm told by people who speak Spanish that it is not very well spoken by the Puerto Ricans, that endings are left off words, that it's not easily...I'll tell you that I did study Spanish in high school and when I hear Castilian Spanish spoken, it's spoken much more slowly and I can make out some words. But the Puerto Rican Spanish is much faster. I think it's sloppy, that way of speaking Spanish (13/069).

In general it appears that the teachers have more negative views of Puerto Rican Spanish than does the community, and this is not due entirely to the fact that there are non-Puerto Ricans included in the teacher sample and not in the community sample, for these views are also held by some of the bilingual teachers.

The teachers (like the parents) are very much aware of the negative opinion borne toward the Puerto Rican community by the wider U.S. society. Three-quarters of those answering agree that Puerto Ricans are viewed very poorly in this country. From a Puerto Rican teacher:

> I really think that a lot of the statistics that are put out in terms of welfare rolls and things like that makes Puerto Ricans to...have just a very bad name. Welfare rolls, crime, those kind of things. They think Puerto Ricans are lazy, have a lot of kids, you know, and on and on (3/626).

A Black teacher points out how the problem transcends Puerto Ricans:

> I would probably say there is some resentment. But then again I think that the next big wave of it is going to be aimed at Cubans coming in. I think that's going to be a problem. I think whenever you get people together that are competing for whatever it is they're competing for --jobs, living area, whatever--that you're bound to have some resentment (11/522).

Another monolingual teacher carries this even further:

> I think now discrimination is in class not color... your social class and how much money you make (12/528).

Most of the teachers see ignorance and lack of personal contact as the major culprits in the perpetuation and maintenance of such prejudices. Only one black teacher sees any positive aspects in the way Puerto Ricans are assessed in this country, pointing to bilingual education legislation as being part of a "wholesome" attitude toward Hispanics.

Half of the teachers consider that these attitudes may be language related or at least that language issues are contributory. Four insist that language is the least of it. One bilingual teacher points out how even Portuguese individuals get identified as Puerto Rican because of sheer ignorance and the power of negative sterotypes of appearance, behavior, etc.

As the bilingual program has several teachers who are not Puerto Rican, we were interested in finding out how the staff members felt about this, given certain problems that have accompanied the assignment of teachers who did not appreciate the language and culture of the children they were to teach. There was 100% agreement (in contrast to the 75% among the guardians) that anyone who knows the grammar of the language and the norms of the culture can be an effective teacher in a bilingual program. Preparation, and not ethnicity, is what counts. One bilingual teacher qualifies her approval with the proviso that non-Puerto Ricans not try to put down the children for speaking differently:

> Pues yo no considero que cualquier maestro que venga por ejemplo de Sudamerica que

> venga a decir a los puertorriqueños o a los dominicanos o a los cubanos que eso no se dice así o que se dice asá, sino que... me gustaría que una persona viniera y se dedicara a enseñar la gramática en sí. No las normas del cantado que tiene uno, del cantadito que tiene el otro. No eso.* (1/324).

Finally, we inquired about the needs to assimilate in this country: "Many people say that if you come to this country you should talk and act like everybody else (e.g. speak only English, etc.). What do you think?" Most of the teachers feel definitively that assimilation is no longer vital to survival in American society ("Those times are gone with the wind" (4/00), though several indicate that it can help, and all agree that learning English is crucial:

> You need English for job purposes, and in whatever social life you choose, that's the kind of language you're gonna need. You choose to hang around with Chinese and you only speak Spanish, you may have some difficulty (12/671).

Most of the teachers express the opinion that what is involved is the expansion of repertoires, not the deletion or replacement of linguistic varieties;

> I don't think that you should have to surrender all of your cultural things just to become like everybody else. Our country is basically an English-speaking country. As much as we've become a bilingual city and in as much

---

*Well I don't think that any teacher that comes, for example, from South America, can come and tell Puerto Ricans or Dominicans or Cubans that you don't say something this way or that you do say it that way, rather...I'd like for a person to come and dedicate themselves to teach grammar in itself. Not the norms of the part that belongs to one group or the little part that belongs to another. Not that.

> as places like Florida have become bilingual and places like Hawaii have become bilingual, not all of our country is that way. So unless you intend to limit yourself to an area where your language is spoken, then I think that you should gain some fluency in it. But that would go for the reverse also. If we were going to another country, I would say, and stay there, we should gain some fluency in their language (11/176).
>
> You should be yourself, but I think that people who live in this country should learn English and maintain their own culture also. There's room for all sorts of knowledge (13/463).

Along with expanding a repertoire comes the need to learn when and where to use new material, i.e. norms of appropriateness:

> I can act like everybody else when I have to, but when I don't have to, I don't talk like everybody else (3/112).

- - -

Such an ability would ostensibly be one of the things taught in an effective bilingual program. Let us turn now to the teachers' perceptions of the form and function of bilingualism and bilingual education.

4.5 Bilingualism and bilingual education (41, 15, 37, 36-40, 42, 20)

We wanted very much to get both the monolingual and bilingual teachers' views on the value of bilingualism and their attitudes toward bilingual education. To this end we asked them whether they would want their own children to learn another language. Not too surprisingly, the teachers were unanimous in their approval. Specifically, they mentioned Spanish, English, and French as important to learn. All were also in agreement about bilingualism improving opportunities for children. They listed education, employment, intellectual development, and cultural awareness as accruing from knowledge of more than one language.

Given this strong support for bilingualism in the abstract, we were interested in ascertaining how the teachers envisioned training children to speak two languages fluently, and whether N.Y.C. provided an atmosphere conducive to the development and maintenance of bilingual individuals. We began by inquiring about Spanish.

When asked if it is possible to learn Spanish as well here as in Puerto Rico or another Spanish-speaking country, only three of the ten who responded were able to answer yes without hesitation. One of these is a Puerto Rican born in NYC, another is a Latin American educated in an English-Spanish bilingual school, and the third is a non-Hispanic. Their collective feeling (and one we must stress is a minority view) is that if one wants to learn Spanish, one can do it anywhere. The non-Hispanic was somewhat surprised by the question: "Especially in a neighborhood like this. There are so many people who do speak Spanish. This is all that many children hear at home " (83/034).

The others were divided on this question. Four teachers feel that it is impossible to learn Spanish well here. Three of these are in the bilingual program; one is a non-Hispanic who learned Spanish here in school. All four feel that there is a need for constant immersion in Spanish in order to learn it properly, a level of immersion which is not possible in New York City despite the large Hispanic population. As one puts it:

> If you're immersed in it, you've got to learn it better. You'll learn the words for every object, the necessary verbs, and correct idioms, and it'll come naturally. I spent a week in Mexico once, and my Spanish improved immensely (82/130).

The rest of the teachers maintain that it depends on the environment of the person trying to learn the language. If Spanish is spoken regularly in the home or the school, then it may be possible to learn it here as well as in Puerto Rico. One Puerto Rican raised in N.Y.C. explains: "If you learn to speak it at home and your parents were born in Puerto Rico or whatever and they are Spanish dominant, I can't see why you can't learn it as well as if you were in Puerto Rico" (74/349). Interestingly enough, the teachers (unlike the parents) made little mention of formal school training.

We also asked whether bilingual education was the best way to learn Spanish. Despite their earlier emphasis on the home environment, almost all (none of whom have children in bilingual programs) agreed that it probably was: only two of the fourteen feel that there are better ways and name travel to or living in a Spanish-speaking country.

We next questioned the teachers in detail about their experiences with bilingual education and their feelings about its future. First we asked them if they had ever taught in a bilingual class. Only the eight presently teaching in the bilingual program have ever done so. We followed with a question about whether there are children in their classes who do not belong there. Half of the teachers can identify such children. Five give language-related reasons--the bilingual teachers mention poor Spanish skills and English dominance; the monolingual teachers, poor English skills. Other examples of misplaced children are attributed to emotional problems, learning disabilities, and in the case of a teacher for the gifted, lack of academic excellence.

We also inquired about any children that should be in their classes. Only four can think of any--all give language-related reasons. Two are monolingual teachers who feel that some of the children in the bilingual program know enough to be in a monolingual class. The other two are bilingual teachers, one of whom judges that many children in the English-only classes only appear to know English because of surface mastery of lexical items and routines and in reality are having a rough time understanding. The other points out that there are children who earnestly want to learn Spanish and should be in the bilingual classes but can't because of the restrictions of class size and funding.

Contrary to our expectations, given the lack of contact between the monolingual and bilingual personnel,all of the teachers are able to give some response to the question about the goals of bilingual education, though the monolingual teachers tend to know very little about the operation of the program and tend to have more negative or restrictive views of the nature and duration of such programs. (one is vehemently opposed). In all cases, the teachers were better informed about the nature of the program than were the parents. The teachers in order of frequency mention as goals of bilingual education: native language maintenance and literate development, acquisition of English, cultural transmission, avoidance of trauma, establishment of identity, bilingualism for all children, and the avoidance of grade retention. The monolingual teachers express disappointment in the one-way nature of the bilingual program in the school. One Black teacher succinctly puts it:

> I had thought when it first came about that it would work two ways. That there was monolingual children who would get in a bilingual class and learn some Spanish and those who were bilingual would go into another class. But I see it's altogether different from what I perceived. And I don't think I'm the only one who felt that way about it when it first came out (78/461).

Only half of the group (as compared to three-quarters of the parents) feels that bilingual education is effective for the attainment of the aforementioned goals. (5 of the 7 are bilingual teachers). Typical positive attitudes reiterate all the proposed goals and benefits of bilingual education and bilingualism. One teacher is careful to qualify her approval and avoid the common mistake of viewing bilingual education as a panacea for all educational ills:

> It's not effective for the children who have problems learning anyway because they just have problems. But for the children which can function in a regular class, it is effective (74/724).

Of the other half, four are not certain about the effectiveness either because the program has functioned for such a short time or because they have had very little opportunity to observe bilingual classes or evaluate their progress objectively:

> I really don't feel qualified to say cause I don't know what they're doing in the bilingual program. The only thing might be some kind of cultural stuff that they might study more about Spanish-speaking countries (82/594).

Three others are of the opinion that the programs have not been effective; they (like some of the parents) are particularly concerned about what they perceive as a lack of English instruction:

> Yes, they're learning Spanish. That's for sure. But are they learning English? That's the question (80/460).

This question of the amount of English is very troublesome for the monolingual teachers, though they admit they have little proof or direct experience on which to base their accusations.

The English issue comes through very clearly in the discussion about maintenance vs. transition-oriented bilingual education. Whereas all but two of the parents backed maintenance bilingual programs, only the bilingual teachers feel that bilingual education should continue throughout all the grades. One shares her concern about the future of the children if bilingual education is not maintained throughout the school career:

> Lo que me asusta a mi es que despues...estos niños cuando pasan a la junior high, a la segunda enseñanza, ¿qué va a pasar si no se les siga? O sea, yo creo que el programa bilingue debe seguir. Que no debe ser un asunto solamente de los grados primarios (71/070).*

One monolingual teacher is not sure which is better but observes that the program at this school is maintenance-oriented.

Six teachers are very much opposed to perpetuating bilingual programs though all grades. All but one are monolingual teachers. The one exception is a bilingual teacher turned ESL teacher who now questions some of the basic tenets of the school's bilingual program.

---

*What scares me is that once these kids pass on to junior high, what's going to happen if they don't continue (with bilingual education)? That is, I think the bilingual program ought to continue. It shouldn't be a matter just for the primary grades.

Typical arguments supporting transitional bilingual education follow:

> I think it's a help to the children. It must be very terrifying for a child who knows one language to be placed into a class where another language is spoken. So this is a way of transition - it should be a transition. It should move them to speaking English if they are going to stay in N.Y. It should be and sometimes it isn't (83/396).
>
> I think if the parents want to maintain the language, it's up to them (80/458).

Despite all the disagreements about goals, duration, and effectiveness of the bilingual programs, almost all who responded favor their continuation. One bilingual teacher laughingly says she wants to continue working. Three monolingual teachers have certain reservations. One insists again that the program would have to be transitional; another feels continuation should be dependent on need; and the third urges evaluation of the programs prior to refunding. One teacher simply doesn't know. Only one monolingual teacher is firmly opposed under any circumstances and reminds us that there is such a thing as ESL which ought to be used.

We asked the teachers to describe to us some of the benefits they see in bilingual education. Many of these overlap with what they gave as goals for bilingual programs and those given earlier by the parents. Some of the benefits mentioned are: increased work opportunities, facilitation of academic progress, transmission of cultural forms, inculcation of a sense of identity, maintenance of home language, provision of role models for Hispanic children, improved self-confidence, and sensitization to cultural differences. It should be noted that this list came from all the teachers, both bilingual and monolingual, regardless of attitudes for or against bilingual programs. Two monolingual teachers said they were unsure and did not answer.

We also asked the teachers whether they consider bilingual education to be a right all children are entitled to or a form of special treatment. More than half of those responding perceive it as a right, the majority being bilingual teachers. (As we recall, all but one of the parents felt this way.) One of the bilingual teachers is quite emphatic about this assertion and links it to U.S. domination of Puerto Rico:

> Bueno, en el caso mío, yo lo creo como un derecho porque a mi nadie me consultó si yo quería ser americana (71/368). (Well in my case, I see it as a right because no one consulted me as to whether I wanted to be American).

A monolingual teacher views the situation in terms of the circular migration pattern of many Puerto Ricans:

> It's something that they need now...Immigration policies are different now. If you have a child that moves back and forth between PR and NY -- one month they're here, six months they're there according to economic changes or whatever, they they definitely need bilingual education. It won't do to say that they'll do it on their own (81/165).

Six teachers do not view bilingual education unambiguously as a right. One, a bilingual teacher, speculates that bilingual education can become a crutch for non-English speaking children. Another bilingual teacher can see bilingual education from both perspectives:

> It's funny because it's almost both. It is special treatment because to the extent that bilingual education is in practice today, there was never anything like this before...But in another sense you could also say...these children do have a right to learn how to read in a way that would be most effective for them. And that would be in Spanish (74/080).

Three teachers thoroughly consider bilingual education to be a form of special treatment. These are monolingual teachers who cite as evidence the history of other immigrant groups in this country who made it without such assistance.

5.0 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, we have examined the language use and language attitudes of three groups--the 16 children considered in depth in the last chapter, 12 of their parents, and 14 of their teachers. While these samples are too small to render possible the kind of statistical conclusions which generally result from such surveys, this was not our intent. Rather we hoped by means of these attitude interviews to further the general understanding of the language situation in this speech community already gained through our extended participant observation and naturalistic tape recording, as well as to spotlight particular issues like bilingual education which are so crucial to the formulation of language policy.

We divided the chapter into three basic sections, each devoted to one of the three samples, and probed each group's reports of language allocation as well as their attitudes toward different language varieties, the concept of 'good' language, the relationship of language and ethnicity, and the present and future of bilingualism and bilingual education in this country. These reports are summarized in Tables 1-8. While there is a wealth of detail contained in each of these sections, certain general points can be drawn from the comparison of the responses of the three groups.

First of all, it is clear that the inter-generational patterns of language and preference in this community are far more complex than a 'language-loss-in-three-generations' model would predict. Although it is true that fewer of the children report using Spanish-only with all interactants than the adults, they do not, on the other hand, report using English-only more often; rather, the younger

	Parents		Children		Bilingual Teachers	
	%	raw	%	raw	%	raw
English	-		13	(2/15)	12.5	(1/8)
Spanish	100	(13/13)	80	(12/15)	62.5	(5/8)
Both	-		7	(1/15)	12.5	(1/8)
Other	-		-		12.5	(1/8)

Table 1. Language learned first.

	Parents		Children		Bilingual Teachers	
	%	raw	%	raw	%	raw
English	17	(2/12)	27	(4/15)	12.5	(1/8)
Spanish	67	(8/12)	20	(3/15)	37.5	(3/8)
Both	17	(2/12)	53	(8/15)	50	(4/8)

Table 2. Language used most.

	Parents		Children		Bilingual Teachers	
	%	raw	%	raw	%	raw
Yes	67	(8/12)	93	(14/15)	87.5	(7/8)
No	33	(4/12)	7	(1/15)	12.5	(1/8)

Table 3. "Do you ever mix Spanish and English?"

	Parents		Children		Bilingual Teachers	
	%	raw	%	raw	%	raw
Yes	25	(3/13)	47	(7/15)	50	(4/8)
No	75	(9/12)	53	(8/15)	50	(4/8)

Table 4. "Is code-switching bad?"

	Parents		Children		Bilingual Teachers	
	%	raw	%	raw	%	raw
Yes	75	(9/12)	60	(9/15)	66	(4/6)
No	25	(3/12)	27	(4/15)	33	(2/6)
Don't know	-		13	(2/15)	-	

Table 5. "Do you speak 'good' Spanish?"

	Parents		Children		Bilingual Teachers	
	%	raw	%	raw	%	raw
Yes	33	(4/12)	47	(7/15)	100	(6/6)
No	66	(8/12)	33	(5/15)	-	
Don't know	-		20	(2/15)		

Table 6. "Do you speak 'good' English?"

	Parents		Children		Bilingual Teachers	
	%	raw	%	raw	%	raw
Yes	75	(9/12)	47	(7/15)	54	(7/13)
No	17	(2/12)	20	(3/15)	31	(4/13)
Depends	8	(1/12)	-		-	
Don't know	-		33	(5/15)	15	(2/13)

Table 7. "If someone told you that you talked like a Puerto Rican, would you take it as a compliment?"

	Parents		Bilingual Teachers	
	%	raw	%	raw
Goal of bilingual ed.?				
Maintenance	83	(10/12)		(8/14)
Transition	8	(1/12)		(5/14)
Other (ESL)	-	-		(1/14)
Don't know	8	(1/12)		-
Benefits of bilingual ed.?*				
Bilingualism	83	(10/12)	54	(7/13)
Cultural transformation	-	-	61	(8/13)
Academic progress	50	(6/12)	8	(1/13)
Identity, confidence	-	-	23	(3/13)
Employment	-	-	8	(1/13)
Don't know	-	(2/12)	15	(2/13)
Is bilingual ed. effective?				
Yes	66	(8/12)	58	(7/12)
No	8	(1/12)	25	(3/12)
Don't know	25	(3/12)	17	(2/12)
Is bilingual ed. best way to learn Spanish?				
Yes	83	(10/12)	73	(8/11)
No	17	(2/12)	18	(2/11)
Maybe	-	-	9	(1/11)
Is bilingual ed. special treatment or right?				
Special treatment	-	-	30	(4/13)
Right	92	(11/12)	61	(8/13)
Both	-	-	8	(1/13)
Don't know	8	(1/12)	-	-

Table 8. Comparison of parents and teachers on questions concerning bilingualism and bilingual education.

* Adds up to more than 100% because some respondents indicated more than one benefit.

generation distinguishes itself from the older in reporting the use of both Spanish and English together with the same interactants. This move toward use of both languages emerges as well from the children's assessment of the language they use most at the present time, the language they would like their own children to use in the future, and the language they feel will be of greatest utility to them in employment. Only the bilingual teachers, whose jobs require the constant use of both languages with the same interactants, exceed the level set by the children, and at that, only in job-related situations.

The very distinction between language use in family-centered and non-family-centered interactions (which emerges in each of the graphs, Figures X-Z, R-T) further argues aginst any over-generalized descriptions of language in this community. In accounting for language patterns, it is not only necessary to talk of younger versus older speakers, and professional versus non-professional bilinguals, but also whether these individuals are interacting within the sphere of the family or beyond. This is not to rigidly assign a given language to a given domain, but rather to recognize the general distinction between close and more distant contacts which is maintained by all speakers regardless of the language they use most in a particular setting.

The interviews also point to certain differences between the way community residents (adults and children) perceive their language and ethnicity and the way these are viewed by the teachers. While both the parents and the teachers are aware of the various influences exercised over the English and Spanish of the community, and the overwhelmingly negative opinion held toward Puerto Ricans in this society, it is only among the teachers (particularly the monolingual ones, though we cannot exclude the bilingual) that the traditionally derogatory attitudes toward Puerto Rican Spanish as an inferior dialect emerge. Only one of the parents and two of the children perceive any slight in being identified as speaking like a Puerto Rican, while half of the teachers feel that such an identification would be uncomplimentary.

The parents and the children generally feel that they speak 'good' Spanish, in contrast to the bilingual teachers, a third of whom appear to have an exceedingly high standard for linguistic excellence, given that they rate their own Spanish poorly although they were selected to teach specifically for their skill in that language. A possible explanation is that they have bought the popular notion that Puerto Ricans don't speak 'good' Spanish, especially those born in New York City. It is no accident that these are teachers born or raised in N.Y.C. Their socialization as Spanish speakers in a non-supportive environment (e.g. lack of institutional development of their bilingual skills until late in their educational careers) has bred linguistic insecurity which their formal position does not completely dispel. On the other hand, all of the teachers (bilingual and monolingual) are very confident about the quality of their English while two-thirds of the parents (including one born and raised in N.Y.C.) and half of the children (all of whom are in bilingual classes) put down their English.

It appears from the above that the linguistic insecurity often attributed to the Puerto Rican community (with regard to the variety of Spanish it speaks) is restricted to its professionals. While the parents denigrate their English, this is primarily due to incomplete acquisition rather than possession of a variety perceived by its speakers to be inadequate or inferior to that spoken by the larger population in the city.

An area of relative agreement between community residents and teachers (bilingual or not) proved to be bilingual education as a means of maintaining Spanish within the community. With one exception, all of the children enrolled in the bilingual program feel they are benefitting from the program, and several of those in the monolingual program wish they could be in the bilingual. Three-quarters of the parents consider bilingual education to be effective, and all but one advocate a maintenance approach to bilingual instruction. All but two of the teachers see bilingual education as the best way for the children to learn Spanish, and virtually all favor the continuation of the programs, despite disagreements about its goals, duration, and effectiveness.

From a partisan point of view, this support is only natural given that bilingual education fills particular needs for each group. For the community, it provides institutional legitimation and a mechanism for the perpetuation of Spanish for generations to come, particularly if we assume the inclusion of Puerto Rican students presently dominant in English. For the teachers, it serves as a forum for the intellectual and expressive development of the students, alleviates certain discipline and attendance problems, and facilitates communication between school and community.

However, constant attacks in the media, misinterpretations of evaluational research, and persistent short-sightedness on the part of the American public and its elected officials has created tensions among community residents (who are frightened of the compensatory nature of programs currently in operation and concerned about their children's chances in the larger society) and among teachers (who have been socialized to hold dear the melting pot ideal of Americanism and who fear the loss of jobs to bilingual requirements). Given the almost hysterical pitch of the conflict, it is indeed surprising that so much accord exists on this volatile issue within our samples.

What then should we make of all this? In general, the attitudes of all three groups favor the acquisition of English as well as the retention of Spanish--in other words, bilingualism. Both languages are used to varying degrees by all three of the groups, although the children are clearly in the forefront of this movement (reporting and actually using both languages more often than their elders),and support for the development and maintenance of both languages via the bilingual programs is widespread. In fact, if reality pursues the course indicated by the children's aspirations for their own and their children's future, this speech community can expect to be bilingual for some time to come.

Yet certain negative perceptions remain, both in the eyes of outsiders and insiders, and there is considerable conflict (primarily among the teachers) as to the best ways to achieve the societal bilingualism which everyone appears to advocate. Only through careful consideration of these and other discordances (as well as the areas of agreement) can an informed and adequate policy be framed.

Chapter Four
NOTES

1. While we were well aware of the limitations of self-report and the effect of the interview situation upon responses, we felt that a direct measure of language attitudes would be most efficient and useful, especially when viewed in conjunction with the ethnographic and quantitative sociolinguistic material.

2. We use the term 'parent' here to refer to the primary caretaker or guardian, whether or not that person is actually the biological parent of the child.

3. Some of these adults had responded to our earlier attitudinal study (Attinasi 1979), and efforts were made to avoid undue duplication with these individuals.

4. None of these teachers (in bilingual or monolingual classes) had participated in our earlier language attitude survey of bilingual teachers district-wide (Attinasi 1980), although their views are generally in agreement with those of the larger sample.

5. The child and parent interviews were carried out by Alicia Pousada, and the teacher interviews by John Attinasi.

6. The numbers in parentheses following each section heading refer to the items in the questionnaire located in the Appendix.

7. The language of instruction in Puerto Rico flunctuated periodically from English (after American conquest in 1898) to Spanish, and back again, vacillating for almost 50 years, a period filled with great political tension over the language question. Since 1946, after the emergence of political domination by the Partido Popular Democrãtico and the stipulation within the Commonwealth Constitution of Spanish as the language of instruction in Puerto Rico, the island's schools have functioned with Spanish used as the medium of instruction and English taught as a second language.

8. Although it should be noted that the loan words rufo and elevador are commonly used within this speech community. See the chapters on the integration of loan words and the assignment of gender to loan words for a detailed analysis of the process of borrowing lexical items from one language to another.
9. This last is probably a stereotyped joke rather than a true error in pronunciation.
10. Only 6 of the 8 bilingual teachers responded to this question.

References

Adorno, W. 1973. The attitudes of selected Mexican and Mexican - American parents in regards to bilingual/bicultural education. Ph.D. thesis, United States International University.

Attinasi, J. 1979. Language attitudes in a New York Puerto Rican community. In R. Padilla (ed.). Ethnoperspectives in Bilingual education research: Bilingual education and public policy in the United States. Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University, 408-461.

__________. 1980. Attitudes of teachers in New York's District 4 bilingual programs: Ms.

Batisti, A. 1978. Attitudes of Hispanic parochial school parents and professional staff toward bilingual/bicultural education. Ph.D. thesis, Fordham University.

Carrillo, R. 1973. An in-depth survey of the attitudes and desires of parents in a school community bicultural program. Ph.D. thesis, The University of New Mexico.

Fishman, J., R. Cooper, and R. Ma. 1971. Bilingualism in the Barrio. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

de Granda, G. 1968. Transculturación e interferencia linguística en el Puerto Rico contemporáneo (1898-1968). Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

Gutierrez, L. 1972. Attitudes toward bilingual education: A study of parents with children in selected bilingual programs. Ph.D. thesis, University of New Mexico.

LaFontaine, H. 1975. Bilingual education for Puerto Ricans: ¿sí o no? Paper presented at the National Conference on the Educational Needs of the Puerto Rican in the United States, Cleveland, Ohio.

National Puerto Rican Task Force on Educational Policy. 1977. Toward a language policy for Puerto Ricans in the United States: An agenda for a community in movement. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños.

Padilla, E. 1958. Up from Puerto Rico. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pousada, A., and S. Poplack. 1979. No case for convergence: The Puerto Rican Spanish verb system in a language contact situation. LPTF Working Paper #5. N.Y.: Center for Puerto Rican Studies. Also in Keller, G. and J. Fishman (eds.). 1981. Bilingual education for Hispanic students in the United States. New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press.

Sutherland, I. 1975. A study of Puerto Rican parents'views on bilingual/bicultural education. Ph.D. thesis, U. Illinois at Urbana- Champaign.

Thomas, J. 1976. Attitudes of Mexican-American parents toward bilingual education. Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan.

Thomas, P. 1967. *Down these mean streets*. New York: Vintage.

Varo, C. 1971. *Consideraciones antropológicas y políticas en torno a la enseñanza del 'Spanglish' en Nueva York*. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Librería Internacional.

Chapter Five--Measuring Language Proficiency

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of the chapter is to further our understanding of the language abilities of the sixteen children who compose our sample through the use of a variety of tests of language proficiency. The chapter has purposely been placed after those dealing with the ethnographic observations and the attitudinal interviews, reflecting both the weight we assign to these standardized measures in gauging language skills and the chronological order in which our data collection proceeded. This is in direct contrast to the general practice of administering tests first and then (if at all) attempting to verify the results through observation or interview.

Typically, attempts on the part of school authorities to examine children's language repertoires depend on data from one context alone--either standardized tests of language dominance or quick surveys of home language use. However, as we have repeatedly demonstrated in this report thus far, children are subject to competing influences from home, community, and school, and in order to assess their linguistic performances and/or capabilities accurately, it is vital to consider the entire scope of their language experiences in and out of school. Tests determine at best a very restricted type of language ability (and that only if the child is able to get over his fear of the test situation and respond more or less naturally). Most home language surveys are exceedingly brief and go no further than ascertaining the language most frequently used or the language preferred in the home, in the estimation of the parents.

Our initial assumption, then, was that most tests, particularly those whose purpose is to determine language "dominance", measure only a small, situationally-bound set of language skills which does not truly reflect the full range of the speaker's language repertoire. To verify this assumption, we compared the children's performance on several psycholinguistic tests of language "dominance" along with the court-mandated test used to determine placement in the bilingual program, and examined the results in light of what we had observed the children to do linguistically, what they themselves claim to do, and what their parents and teachers report about their behavior. The comparison of test scores also made possible some consideration of the nature of the instruments themselves, their reliability and validity.

In this chapter we first survey the area of language testing and the general research indications reported in the literature thus far. We then turn to the tests administered to our sample and examine both the structure of the tests and the children's performance on them. Finally, we compare the test results with each another and with the children's observed and reported language use, and show how the best approach to assessing language proficiency and dominance is one which utilizes data from a variety of sources and which examines language use globally, while recognizing that it may change precipitously over time in response to transformations in roles, responsibilities, and opportunities for interaction.

2.0 Approaches to assessing language proficiency

Language proficiency research has embraced a number of issues important to the fields of linguistics, education, and language planning, as well as psychometrics. It has been concerned with defining and differentiating levels of proficiency, stages of language acquisition, and degrees of bilingualism. It has also been utilized to demonstrate the effects of instructional programs. Furthermore, it has investigated the relation of language proficiency levels and the social interactions they permit, to the acquisition of knowledge in educational settings. Researchers in language testing have examined different tests to determine their validity, reliability,[1] practicality, and potential instructional value. They have also utilized tests to explore specific characteristics of language learning as well as the psycho and sociolinguistic factors which both contribute to and constrain language performance.

All of this effort has, not unexpectedly, generated an area of inquiry which is far too complex and elaborated to be more than roughly sketched here. What follows, then, is only intended as a basic orientation to the general concerns of the field in order to examine more knowledgeably the findings of this study.

Language proficiency is an extremely elusive concept; however, most researchers agree that it involves the fluency and accuracy with which speakers manipulate linguistic resources in communicating.[2] By definition, then, language proficiency is part of overall communicative competence, i.e. the ability to use and interpret language in appropriate ways in a variety of social settings (Hymes 1972). While research has indicated that language proficiency is only one factor among many to be taken into account when determining the educational needs of non-English speaking children (Tucker 1974, Bowen 1977, Cummins 1979, Rodriguez-Brown 1979, Troike 1981), bilingual education legislation and decision-making are firmly based upon this one factor to the exclusion of other sociocultural characteristics of speakers and communities (e.g. home environment, aspirations, cognitive development, ethnic identification, etc.), which may be even more crucial in selecting the language of instruction. Because of this orientation, it is vital to examine the instruments in current use in light of what is known about children's language abilities from other sources like observation and interview.

There has been a proliferation of language proficiency assessment instruments since the Lau decision of 1974 which required districts to ascertain the number of limited English proficient students in order to provide appropriate instruction for them. The Northwest Regional Education Laboratory (1978) catalogues 342 oral and written tests used in this country alone. Because of this and other legislative mandates, and the predilection for statistical assessments of student progress which characterizes the field of education, educational decisions with regard to language ability have depended almost exclusively upon the use of testing despite the lack of firm research evidence proving the reliability and validity of such tests.

The basic problems in measuring language proficiency (as illustrated by Hernandez-Chavez 1978) are the number of parameters involved (linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and metalinguistic), the commensurability of these components (across languages, domains, and levels of proficiency), and the method of measurement (the sampling of language behavior, the distinction between competence and performance, and the treatment of language variation). Because of these inherent difficulties, testmakers have focussed on the most accessible features of language performance. As a result, most bilingual proficiency instruments measure vocabulary range or syntax and not the functional uses of language (DeAvila and Duncan 1976), although studies have shown that such tests do not predict effective classroom participation or communicative competence (Savignon 1972, Tucker 1974, Upshur and Palmer 1974).

The overwhelming majority of existing language tests are indirect measures assessing behaviors not manifestly part of daily communication. A great many of these are word association tests which either assess fluency (via reaction time to verbal or non-verbal stimuli), or preference (via selection among written ambiguous stimuli). The Word Naming by Domains, Stroop, and Ambiguous Stimulus tests used in this study fall into this category. The validity of such tests is questionable primarily because there is no strong evidence that fluency and/or word preference are the best indicators of language proficiency, nor that these instruments even tap such constructs. Similar though somewhat more direct are sentence completion and structural transformation tasks, both of which appear in the Language Assessment Battery used in our school district. Other indirect tests focus on grammatical structure, like the Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM), which despite its name measures morphological structure, the Bilingual Inventory of Natural Language (BINL), and the Language Assessment Scales (LAS). These entail responses to story cards and are intended to elicit natural-like language behavior which can then be coded and scored according to the accuracy or complexity of structures produced.

Direct language tests (which elicit behaviors bearing a more direct resemblance to everyday speech), on the other hand, are less common and more difficult to construct and score. A prime example is the Foreign Service Interview which utilizes a natural communicative task (i.e. a conversation) to elicit speech data for evaluation of the speaker's internalized linguistic knowledge. To our knowledge, this has never been used with children. Another type of direct test involves a linguistic manipulation task which forces the speaker to indicate more conscious linguistic awareness, an illustration being the loanword elicitation instrument administered to our sample, described in Chapter 7 of this report.

In addition to being direct or indirect, tests vary as to whether they are discrete point (with subtests assessing different discrete elements of proficiency), integrative (testing many elements simultaneously), or pragmatic (integrative with a contextual and functional orientation). The bulk of language proficiency tests in current use are discrete point (including the Language Assessment Battery used in our district, the BSM, and the frequently-administered Test of English as a Foreign Language or TOEFL); or integrative (like the Dailey Language Facility Test, a storytelling task which renders a measure of global language proficiency).

Pragmatic tests (like the FSI and the cloze technique, which involves filling in words systematically omitted from passages) appear to tap more profound aspects of communicative competence than do the discrete point and regular integrative tests, as they require the learner to use the normal contextual constraints present in language and demonstrate comprehension of meaningful sequences. However, they are still in their infancy and rarely used in educational settings because of their personnel-and time-intensive nature.[3]

Tests are further differentiated by their point of reference -- whether to national or local norms of performance on the same instrument or to specific performance criteria. Most tests commonly used continue to be norm-referenced, (which may be appropriate for placement purposes providing they are carefully normed), however, testers agree that criterion-referencing is vastly superior for assessing progress and ultimately more useful in relating curriculum and testing objectives.[4]

A number of studies have compared scores from instruments of various types in order to determine their degree of equivalence, an important consideration in establishing their validity (c.f. Teitelbaum 1976, Gillmore and Dickerson 1979, Ulibarri et al 1980, Wald 1981). In general, it has been found that the tests measure different linguistic components, resulting in poor comparability among the measures and only a modestly significant correlation between them and the reading or achievement tests given in the same schools. Despite these findings, schools continue to rely upon single tests, and evaluators of bilingual education programs persist in lumping together different scores and levels derived thereof regardless of the diversity of criteria upon which they are based, when reporting numbers of children of a particular proficiency or when determining the effectiveness of the instructional program. (See DeAvila and Ulibarri 1981 for a critique of Dulay and Burt 1980, just such an evaluation.)

Even more crucial than inter-test comparability is whether the tests measure anything even remotely resembling actual language use. Rodriguez-Brown and Elias-Olivares (1981) conclude that language tests are not congruent with language use and that language proficiency cannot be described accurately unless assessed in naturally-occurring communicative situations. For bilinguals, this means bilingual, not monolingual contexts, in which their entire repertoire (including code-switching if pertinent) is taken into account. The only way that the full capabilities of the children (as opposed to adult expectations of their abilities) can be portrayed is via tests that

> approach the measurement of communicative competence from a wider perspective where form and function of language are involved and where natural language samples are the source of information about the language proficiency of each subject. (35)

As we have already seen, the issue of actual language use patterns becomes particularly salient when it comes to determining language "dominance". To merely say that a speaker is dominant in one language or the other is insufficient because language ability must be assessed in a number of contexts with various interlocutors of different purposes, and with the patterns of usage of each language specified for each context. Depending on the concept of "dominance" used, very different measurements for the same speaker can be obtained (Weinreich 1953). The dominant language may be seen as the language in which a speaker feels most comfortable in everyday communication, a definition which calls for the assessment of a subjective and variable psychological state, as a person may feel more comfortable in one language in one setting and with a second language in another setting. These perceptions may be further complicated by the speaker's emotional attachment to a language.

Another criterion used for the determination of language dominance is functional usage, the ability of a speaker to carry out certain tasks in a particular language. A speaker may, however, have different skills in each of the languages and be assessed differently depending upon the communicative tasks at hand. Literacy may be involved as well in such assessment, leading to contradictory results when individuals are not literate in their first language (as is the case with those of our sample enrolled in monolingual English classes).

Actual frequency of usage can also be a misleading indicator of language dominance because a speaker may be forced out of circumstance to use a language other than the one he manipulates best. Moreover, frequency of usage may vary over time for any given individual.

Defining dominance in terms of the language first learned or the language used at home, i.e. the "mother tongue", raises further problems in categorizing speakers, since as we have seen, a child may use one language with his parents and another language with his siblings, other relatives, and friends. Moreover, many speakers who were monolingual in Spanish when entering school may change their usage so that by junior high school, they use more English than Spanish. (The reverse is of course also possible though much less likely).

Finally, use of relative proficiency or fluency as a determiner of dominance presents the problem of establishing an objective standard by which to measure ability when more than one variety of each language exists in the same speech community, and when speakers also vary in their performance at different levels of linguistic structure. For example, how does one rate a speaker whose syntax is native-like while his command of the phonology is clearly incomplete (i.e., he has a marked non-native accent)? And when dealing with children, it is necessary to consider age and developmental level. Balanced bilinguals of different ages may be scored the same but actually have very different kinds of skills.

3.0 The tests

It is clear from preceding discussion that the testing of proficiency and determination of dominance are far from simple matters. The factors to be considered are many and varied; the means of accounting for them all in some assessment of proficiency, elusive; and the relevance of test results to actual language use, dubious. In order to examine these issues more closely, let us now scrutinize the tests administered to our sample and the children's performance on them. We will begin with the placement test used by the school district and then look at the psycholinguistic tests we provided.[5]

3.1 Language Assessment Battery (LAB)

The Language Assessment Battery (LAB) was developed as a placement instrument for bilingual programs governed by the Aspira Consent Decree in New York City. The Decree mandated the creation of "an approved method for accurately and systematically identifying and classifying children who are Spanish speaking or Spanish surnamed... whose English language deficiencies prevent them from effectively participating in the learning processes..." The method was to "identify the children according to their ability to speak, read, write, and comprehend English and Spanish..." (Santiago 1977: 81-82).

The LAB "Examiner's Directions" describes the purpose of the battery "to determine whether Spanish speaking and Spanish surnamed children can effectively participate in the learning process in English, and if not, whether they can more effectively participate in Spanish."

To meet this goal, the battery was constructed at three levels -- grades K-2, 3-6, and 7-12 -- and measures the four basic language skills of listening, reading, writing, and speaking, with the greatest weight given to the writing skills and the least to the speaking skills. The English version was normed upon English monolingual students in the city, of whom 80% were able to answer all of the items correctly. As a result, the New York City schools use the 20th percentile as the cut-off point below which English proficiency is considered inadequate. Those children who score below the 20th percentile in English are then given the LAB in Spanish. If their Spanish scores are higher than their English by so much as one point, they are placed in bilingual classes. The test is repeated every year until the child passes the English part and can be moved into the English-only classes.

The LAB was constructed in a great hurry in order to comply with the Consent Decree, and grave doubts have been cast on its format, norms, and grading. There is considerable dissatisfaction with the test throughout the school system, and attempts are being made by the Office of Bilingual Education to develop a replacement instrument. Some examination of the structure of the test at levels 1 and 2, those which apply to our sample children, will help illustrate the problems.

Level 1 is intended for grades K-2. There are three tests, all of which are individually administered. The listening and speaking test is intended to measure listening comprehension and oral control; however, few of the questions require the child to answer verbally--merely touching the right answer on the test sheet suffices.[6] The first nine questions concern the child and his body (name, age, body parts, etc.); the last eleven involve responses to questions about stimulus pictures of colors, objects, and actions. The reading test (10 items) is intended to measure reading comprehension and again requires the child to indicate either orally or by pointing which printed word describes the stimulus picture. The writing test (10 items) sets the child the task of copying letters or words that correspond to items depicted in the illustrations, as well as re-ordering words to form suitable sentences. The latter two tests are clearly beyond the capabilities of many kindergartners, and require a knowledge of spelling which is probably unrealistic for first graders as well.

Level 2, constructed for grades 3-6, consists of four tests -- listening, reading, writing (all group administered), and speaking (individually administered). The listening test is divided in two parts, the first of which (18 items) involves the matching of pictures and spoken stimuli, and the second of which (12 items) tests the ability to identify identical word pairs. The reading test is also in two parts--part 1 (10 items) is a sentence completion task and part 2 (18 items) presents the child with brief reading passages and multiple choice comprehension questions. The writing test (20 items) requires the completion of sentences with appropriate grammatical forms from a multiple choice list. Finally, the speaking test (14 items) involves responses to questions regarding picture cards in which the examiner describes the picture and then asks "probe" questions (which allow the child to respond in any grammatical fashion) and/or "completion" questions (which force the child to use particular structures in his responses).

There are many flaws in the format of the LAB test, not the least of which are its assessment of testing priorities. The speaking test represents only a small portion of the entire battery although this ability is ostensibly the most crucial to placement in a particular program. The writing test, on the other hand, which measures one of the last skills to be acquired, is given the greatest emphasis.

Serious questions arise as to what each test actually measures, i.e. its construct validity.[7] In most cases, what appears to be at issue is vocabulary (which varies in difficulty throughout the tests) and experience with substantive facts and realms of existence which may or may not bear any relation to any domain of knowledge encountered by the children in school or at home. The writing test is actually a test of written syntax and morphology, not composition, and the major emphasis is on subject-verb agreement, prepositions, pronouns, and appropriate vocabulary, for no clear reason. The listening test (particularly part 3 with its minimal pairs) does not tap any real life abilities or distinctions; rarely if ever do minimal pairs present ambiguity in natural contexts. Even the speaking test, which at level 2 resembles the Bilingual Syntax Measure, does not appear to measure the kind of speaking proficiency needed by a child to function in school or outside in the real world.

There is no consideration of differences between examiners or students which may lead to misunderstandings or "wrong" answers. Part 3 of the Level 2 listening test calls for the examiner to read aloud the word pairs. There is no control for the pronunciation of the examiner (who may be from a very different cultural background and/or may not even be the child's teacher), nor are the dialectal differences among the students (which may affect their understanding of the spoken stimuli, but even more likely, their production of the response) taken into account.

Furthermore, though the battery is composed of discrete point tests, only a gross score (which merely adds together the scores of the sub-tests and is not to be confused with an integrative score) is provided, which does not reflect the various areas tested or differentiate students' strengths or weaknesses. This effectively undermines any diagnostic potential of the battery.

Added to all of the above are numerous typographical errors, the omission of certain illustrations, and the ambiguity of others. Finally, the fact that the same test is administered year after year until the child passes, encourages memorization of answers (both correct and incorrect) and an unwillingness to go through the process again, hardly the proper attitudinal frame in which to be tested.

A study by Quiñones (1977) additionally indicates serious deficiencies in the validity of the LAB. Quiñones, a high school principal in the South Bronx, administered the English LAB to 27 English monolingual Black ninth graders in his school. 41% of these scored at the 20th percentile or below, i.e. "failed", despite the fact that 80% of the supposedly representative English monolingual group against which the test had been normed managed to pass.

On the basis of all this, it appears that any placement done solely on the basis of the LAB test will be open to question and may endanger effective implementation of the bilingual program. Let us now consider the children's actual scores.

As we examine Table 1 which displays the children's LAB scores for 1979 and 1980, it is important to keep in mind the structure of the bilingual program outlined in Chapter 2 and the role of the LAB as a placement instrument for that program. According to the Aspira consent decree, all children of non-English speaking background must take the LAB.

However, in actuality the situation is more complex than that described above. Not all Spanish-surnamed children are tested--it appears that a pre-selection is made by the school, though the criteria involved are not known to us. Strict adherence to the procedures outlined in the consent decree is made difficult by the economic and political considerations involved in running a bilingual program given cutbacks and attacks. Furthermore, the LAB scores are not the only determinants of placement or movement in a maintenance oriented program such as this. We will return to these issues (which require discussion of results for other than sample children) after first looking at the results for the sample children.

A quick perusal of Table 1 reveals certain trends as well as irregularities. First of all, it should be noted that as these children were at different grade levels, the raw scores represent different percentiles and should not be compared. This is also the case with the raw scores in English and Spanish. Furthermore, the design of the test produces a very narrow spread of raw scores overall and makes the percentile distinctions somewhat absurd at times (e.g. the case of Josie and Dorcas whose raw scores differ by one point yet are separated by 12 percentiles, which might otherwise seem significant).

Second, there appears to be fairly good compliance with the requirement of bilingual education for those children ranking at or below the 20th percentile on the English, and in all but one case (Iris)

Table 1

LAB results for children in bilingual classes, 1979 and 1980

	ENGLISH				SPANISH			
speakers	1979		1980		1979		1980	
	raw	%ile	raw	%ile	raw	%ile	raw	%ile
Iris	10	3	*	*	5	3	*	*
Josie	23	48	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dorcas	22	36	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chico	12	1	*	*	31	71	*	*
Indio	30	7	49	25	37	65	-	-
Flaquita	25	2	46	21	38	75	-	-
Juanita	18	1	*	*	abs	abs	*	*
Herminio	39	1	61	10	88	89	75	88
Conejo	71	9	*	*	abs	abs	*	*

- means child passed English part previously and did not have to take it or the Spanish again

* means child's records unavailable for that year because of transfer to new school

where comparison of English and Spanish scores is possible, the Spanish is higher, as it is supposed to be. We will consider Iris' case separately below. The twins Josie and Dorcas represent the only children in the sample who technically do not belong in the bilingual program given their high English scores. As mentioned in their individual portraits, this is the result of parental wishes. As we will see, the placement or retention of English proficient children in the bilingual program is not so unusual, given the maintenance goals of the bilingual program, and it is more often the case that in the infrequent eventuality of a misplacement, it is children ranking somewhat below the 20th percentile in English who are placed in monolingual classes.

Third, for those children whose scores are available for both 1979 and 1980, it is apparent that they have improved in performance. Indio and Flaquita improved to such an extent in 1980 that they should also have been shifted out of the program; however, their parents want them to remain, and the school's policy in such cases is to retain the child in the program until graduation.

Let us now scrutinize more closely the cases of Iris, Indio, and Conejo whose LAB scores were somewhat surprising to us in light of what we knew about their language use and preferences. Table 2 shows clear disagreements among the LAB scores, self-report of most frequently used language overall and preferred language, and observation of most frequently used language.

Table 2

Comparison of LAB, self-report, and observation assessments of language dominance for three children

	Test	Self-report		Observed
	LAB	most freq, lg.	pref. lg.	most freq. lg.
Iris	neither	S	E	S
Indio	S	B	E	E-B
Conejo	S	B	S	E

As we recall from Chapter 3, Iris was five years old and in an English-only kindergarten when we began our study, despite being almost completely Spanish monolingual. According to her LAB scores, she would have to be considered "alingual", scoring at the third percentile in both languages. Our observations indicated that this is clearly not the case, and that fear and lack of familiarity with testing were responsible for her performance. We saw previously that Iris is an animated and non-stop talker in Spanish. While she is unquestionably Spanish-dominant by most criteria, she professes to prefer English, having apparently internalized the often repeated warning of her Spanish monolingual parents that English is necessary to succeed in this society.

Indio was seven years old and in a bilingual bridge class of first and second graders when we met him. He has excellent Spanish and English skills and reports using both with equal frequency but favors English despite considerable exposure to Spanish at home with his parents. Despite his extensive English skills, and outspoken preference for the language, Indio's LAB tests register him at only the seventh percentile in English and the 65th in Spanish. Our observations indicate that he is proficient in both languages but uses English the most, particularly among his peers.

Conejo was eleven and in a bilingual sixth grade class when we began our study. He was born in Puerto Rico and came to New York at the age of six. We observed him to use both languages with English predominating. He identifies himself as bilingual, and tends to over-report his use of Spanish to some extent, perhaps counting occasional code-switches as speaking Spanish. While we do not have information on his LAB scores in Spanish (he was absent), he only scored in the ninth percentile in English, an assessment which is unlikely given his heavy involvement in English-speaking peer groups. He states that he prefers to speak Spanish, which may be an expression of his awareness and pride in being Puerto Rican.

Though this sub-sample is too limited to really draw any conclusions, it is clear that the LAB scores do not correspond to what we know about these children nor what they themselves claim. There is no match at all between the LAB results and the observed use of language, and only in Conejo's statement of language preference is there any confirmation of the LAB scores via self-reports of language use.

As we also had access to the 1979 LAB scores for the other children in grades K-2 and 5-6, we can make certain broad observations about the LAB and its role in placement in this schoool. Table 3 illustrates the distribution of so-called "LAB children" (i.e. those who took the test) in grades K-2 and 5-6 at that time. Given court and legislative decisions, one might expect to find only LAB children in the bilingual classes and only non-LAB children in the monolingual classes. The table does not give the total class enrollments; however, most classrooms averaged between 25-30 children. In general, then, we see that while the LAB children are indeed most numerous in the bilingual classes, there are LAB children in all but two of the monolingual classes, and in half of the bilingual classes, they do not represent the majority of the students. Presumably, the bilingual program is filled out with children who have surpassed the minimal requirements for English proficiency. While we will not argue with the right of all children to be in bilingual classes, it is clear that the school exercises considerable discretion in assigning children to programs.

There does appear to be a rational basis for this discretion in most cases. All of the LAB children in bilingual classes for whom both scores are available scored much higher in Spanish than in English (as one would expect), and all LAB students who scored higher in English were assigned to monolingual classes. The real problem is with those children (mainly at the kindergarten and second grade levels), who scored below the 20th percentile in English and much higher or the same in Spanish, yet were still placed in monolingual classes where they couldn't possibly comprehend the classroom routine. This kind of misplacement is due primarily to the economic necessity of filling out classes so as not to lose teachers and then overcrowd the remaining classes. It would be interesting to find out how each of these children has fared academically, how many (like Iris) were eventually switched over to the bilingual classes or to the bilingual learning disabilities center, and whether irreparable damage was done in the name of balancing the budget.

Table 3

Distribution of "LAB children" in grades K-2 and 5-6, 1979

class	# LAB children	# at or above 20th %tile	# higher in Sp.	# higher in Eng.	# same in both lgs.
B K	26	3	24*	0	0
M K	12	4	8	4	1
B 1	29	0	29	0	0
M 1	1	0	1	0	0
M K-1	5	0	4+	0	0
B 1-2	27	1	27	0	0
M 2a	10	1	7+	1	1
M 2b	0	0	0	0	0
B 2	14	0	13+	0	0
B 5	15	0	14+	0	0
B 5-6	14	0	11°	0	0
M 5a	0	0	0	0	0
M 5b	1	0	+	0	0
M 6	4	-	-	-	-

*Josie and Dorcas weren't tested in Spanish since their English scores were over 20th percentile.

+1 child absent for Spanish test

°3 children absent for Spanish test

-scores not available

We have considered in this section the structure of the LAB and the performance of our sample children and that of their classmates. A number of problems concerning its validity and its use as a placement instrument have been raised. We will return to these when we compare the LAB assessments with those of the other tests described in this report.

We now turn to the psycholinguistic tests administered--the Word Naming by Domains and the Ambiguous Stimulus.[8]

3.2 Word Naming by Domain

Perhaps the most straight-forward of the tests we administered to our sample children is the word naming task developed by Fishman and associates. This test of vocabulary production involves the elicitation of words in English and Spanish appropriate to particular domains[9] (selected after participant observation and interviews within the speech community in question) and is designed to reflect bilingual fluency in different spheres of interaction. It rests strongly upon Fishman's bilingual dominance configuration theory[10] and attempts to give a richer, more contextualized picture of bilingual abilities than is possible from global assessments which may mask important systematic differences.

The instrument is useful in several ways. First, it indicates the relative size of the speaker's active vocabulary in Spanish and English; by looking at the Spanish and English scores, an estimate of the relative proficiency in each language can be made. The total output of the speaker, in one language or in both, can be also compared with that of the other speakers. Finally, the scores can indicate in which contexts the speaker's vocabulary in Spanish and English is most developed.

The first application of the word naming test was in the monumental study of a bilingual New Jersey barrio (Fishman, Cooper, Ma 1971). Cooper (1971) administered the word naming by domain task to 38 Puerto Rican adults and adolescents. Subjects were asked to name in one minute as many different words referring to a specified domain as they could, first in one language and later in the other, a test of recall and retrieval ability as much if not more than language proficiency,it would seem. For "family," they were asked to name things seen or found in a kitchen; for "neighborhood," things seen or found in the street; for "religion," things seen or found in a church; for "education," subjects studied in school; and for "work," the names of occupations. Each respondent's English domain scores were subtracted from the corresponding Spanish domain scores. Positive difference scores indicate greater fluency in Spanish, whereas negative scores indicate greater fluency in English.

Relative proficiency in word naming among the sample was found to vary significantly as a function of context, age, and recency of arrival in the United States. Subjects were more proficient in Spanish in the tradition-oriented domains of home and religion, while in the domains of neighborhood, education, and work, some performed better in English. If word naming had not been broken down by domain, many would have erroneously been classed as "balanced" in terms of the difference between their English and Spanish average total scores.

Within the same project, Edelman, Cooper, and Fishman (1971) tested 34 Puerto Rican parochial school students, all of whom were born in the United States. The students were asked to name words associated with the domains of education, religion, neighborhood, and family. The occupational domain was eliminated because it did not apply. Results showed that the children produced more Spanish for the domains of family and neighborhood and more English for the domains of education and religion, corroborating in part what had been found for the adults of the community.

In our adaptation of the test, we followed Cohen (1975) in asking the children to list as many words as possible in 45 seconds that named items typically found in the kitchen, neighborhood, church, and school. This was done for both languages, and each task was preceded by a domain-free trial run in each language. As we had such a small sample, we did not bother to control for the order of presentation of the domains or the languages, but rather kept the domain order constant and always began with the language the child preferred.

We typically asked the child: "Dime todas las cosas que se encuentran en la cocina" (Tell me all the things that are found in the kitchen). Scoring was done on the spot, although responses were also tape recorded to check accuracy and for future reference. Every time a child said a word, it was written down on the test sheet. After each section was completed, the number of responses was totalled. If a child gave a word in the other language or an ambiguous or nonsense word, it was not counted. Nor were repetitions of the same word counted. These decisions made for a more rigorous measure than perhaps was the case in Fishman et al (1971) or in Cohen (1975) but seemed appropriate in light of the purpose of the test which is to measure proficiency.

Table 4 gives the raw scores for each child by language and domain. Table 5, derived from Table 4, indicates the proportion of

Table 4

RAW AND DIFFERENCE SCORES FROM WORD NAMING BY DOMAINS

Speaker	Home			Neighbrhd.			Church			School			Total diff. across domains
	Sp.	Eng.	Diff.	Sp.	Eng.	Diff.	Sp.	Eng.	Diff.	Sp.	Eng.	Diff.	
Pito	0	10	-10	0	11	-11	0	5	-5	0	15	-15	-41
Iris	12	3	9	17	8	9	11	0	11	12	7	5	+34
Gordito	9	10	-1	7	14	-7	7	5	2	6	10	-4	-10
Josie	4	5	-1	5	10	-5	0	3	-3	6	7	-1	-10
Dorcas	12	2	10	6	10	-4	3	11	-8	6	8	-2	-4
Chico	9	0	9	7	5	2	6	2	4	7	4	3	+18
Baby	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ramon	7	16	-9	11	15	-4	10	10	0	10	23	-13	-26
Debbie	0	8	-8	2	7	-5	1	7	-6	2	8	-6	-25
Indio	9	11	-2	10	16	-6	9	10	-1	12	8	4	-5
Flaquita	3	12	-9	8	9	-1	5	7	-2	9	8	1	-11
Juanita	9	4	5	6	10	-4	10	4	6	13	10	3	+10
Herminio	12	6	6	8	8	0	7	5	2	14	7	7	+15
Linda	8	17	-9	5	10	-5	5	10	-5	7	20	-13	-32
Maria	20	19	1	12	21	-9	17	18	-1	17	23	-6	-15
Conejo	13	16	-3	7	13	-6	11	13	-2	13	19	-6	-17
Totals	127	139	-12	111	167	-56	102	110	-8	134	177	-43	

words in each domain in Spanish and English, giving the percentages for all the children together as well as divided by school program.

The largest proportion of both the English and Spanish words occur in the school domain, perhaps because children are accustomed to naming things in the school environment and can readily list items. The smallest proportion of the words in either language was given for the domain of the church, most likely due to the relatively minor and/or passive role that domain plays in the lives of most of these children.

When these children are viewed as a group, the different domains are not really distinguished by language. While it is true that English is given slightly more often than Spanish in all domains, this is only statistically significant in the neighborhood domain. (This agrees with our observational data and corroborates the linking of this domain to English found in Edelman, Cooper, and Fishman 1971). When divided by school program, it becomes clear that the monolingually educated children use far less Spanish than do the bilingually schooled sample, but only somewhat more English. It is also apparent that there is a wide discrepancy between the English and Spanish usage of the monolingually schooled group, whereas the bilingually-trained children are almost equal in both languages.

Table 5

Proportion of words in each domain in Spanish or English among children in bilingual and monolingual classes

	home		neighbrhd.		church		school	
	%S	%E	%S	%E	%S	%E	%S	%E
all children	48	52	40	60	48	52	43	57
bilingual classes	31	22	27	32	29	26	30	25
monolingual classes	17	30	13	28	19	26	13	32
N=1067	n=266		n=278		n=212		n=311	

If we turn back to Table 4, we find, in addition to the raw scores already examined, the difference scores which are to be used to determine the relative language proficiency. According to the instructions accompanying the test description in Fishman et al (1971), a negative difference score indicates English dominance while a positive difference scores indicates Spanish dominance in that domain. However, the use of mere difference scores is somewhat problematic, especially when trying to compare speakers. While the sign of the difference score points to the language in which the speaker is most productive (and this gross measure can indeed be compared across speakers), the numerical value of the difference score cannot be calibrated effectively or scaled for comparisons across all speakers, for it is the result of raw scores specific to the speaker and determined by the speaker's level of development, understanding of and enthusiasm for the task, and overall verbosity.

There are many configurations of raw scores which can yield the same difference scores, thus obscuring important differences among speakers. The inclusion of 0 raw scores (i.e. when the speaker is unable to give any response in a given language) further complicates any facile comparisons of difference scores. (For example, it would be incorrect to compare Pito's difference score of -5 for the church domain with Linda's, for he was unable to name any items in Spanish while she named 5).

In order to avoid these problems and be able to compare the children on a scale, we converted the difference scores into what we will call proportional difference scores, by calculating the proportion the difference score represents out of the total responses for a domain, i.e.

$$\frac{\text{Spanish raw score} - \text{English raw score}}{\text{Spanish raw score} + \text{English raw score}} \quad \text{or} \quad \frac{\text{difference score}}{\text{total responses}}$$

This results in decimal scores all based on a scale from -1.00 to +1.00 and allows for easy comparison. The adjusted scores can be seen in Table 6. The closer the score is to -1.00, the more English dominant the speaker; the closer to +1.00, the more Spanish dominant. Scores close to 0 indicate equal proficiency in both languages. We somewhat arbitrarily chose to consider as "balanced" only those cases which fell in the range of -.17 to +.17 (these were cases in which the lesser of the raw scores equalled 70% or more of the greater, i.e. the raw scores were similar enough to merit consideration as close to balanced). The resultant dominance ratings for each speaker can also be seen in Table 6.[11]

Table 6

PROPORTIONAL DIFFERENCE SCORES AND RESULTING DOMINANCE RATINGS WORD NAMING BY DOMAINS

Speaker	Home		Neighborhood		Church		School	
	dom. rating	diff. scores	dom. rating	diff. scores	dom. rating	diff. scores	dom. rating	diff. scores
Pito	E	-1.00	E	-1.00	E	-1.00	E	-1.00
Iris	S	.60	S	.36	S	1.00	S	.26
Gordito	B	- .05	E	- .33	B	.17	E	- .25
Josie	B	- .11	E	- .33	E	-1.00	B	- .08
Dorcas	S	.71	E	- .25	E	- .57	B	- .14
Chico	S	1.00	B	.16	S	.50	S	.27
Baby	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ramon	E	- .39	B	- .15	B	0.00	E	- .39
Debbie	E	-1.00	E	- .55	E	- .75	E	- .60
Indio	B	- .10	E	- .23	B	- .05	S	.20
Flaquita	E	- .60	B	- .06	B	- .17	B	.06
Juanita	S	.38	E	- .25	S	.43	B	.13
Herminio	S	.33	B	0.00	B	.17	S	.33
Linda	E	- .36	E	- .33	E	- .33	E	- .48
Maria	B	.03	E	- .27	B	- .03	B	- .15
Conejo	B	- .10	E	- .30	B	- .08	E	- .19

Calculated from formula: $\frac{\text{Spanish raw score-English raw Score}}{\text{Spanish raw score+English raw score}}$ or $\frac{\text{difference score}}{\text{total responses}}$

The closer to +1, the more Spanish dominant.
-1, English
0, balanced. Balanced ranges from - .17 to + .17

If we examine the way the sample breaks down according to dominance rating by domain (Table 7), we see that the children are favoring English in the neighborhood domain while in the other three domains, they are much more equally divided among English, Spanish, and balanced. Further dividing the sample according to school program, as in Table 8, reveals that, as would be expected, most of those in the bilingual program are rated as Spanish dominant in the home domain, while those in the monolingual program are rated as English dominant. This does not necessarily correspond to our observations. Both groups favor English in the neighborhood domain. There are no clear patterns for the church domain. In the school domain, students in monolingual classes tend to be assessed as English dominant, while those in bilingual classes are evenly divided between Spanish dominant and balanced, evidence either of good placement or an effect of the program on language proficiency.

The lack of a clear linguistic demarcation among domains is in keeping with what we know about the children and their community from our observations and from their self-report, though contrary to what was found by Fishman et al (1971) for the New Jersey barrio. Once again, we see that in this community there is no straight forward diglossic situation. Furthermore, while there is clearly some shift toward English on the part of the children (particularly those not being schooled in Spanish), the strong presence of the balanced category shows that Spanish is not being lost; rather a generation of highly bilingual children is being developed.

Table 7

Number of children with particular dominance by domain

	home	neighborhood	church	school	
E	5	10	5	6	
S	5	1	3	4	
B	5	4	7	5	N=15

Table 8

Number of children in bilingual or monolingual classes with particular dominance by domain

	home			neighborhood			church			school			
	E	S	B	E	S	B	E	S	B	E	S	B	
Biling.	1	5	3	5	1	3	2	3	4	1	4	4	
Mono-ling.	4	0	2	5	0	1	3	0	3	5	0	1	N=15

In order to judge the validity of the dominance ratings derived from the word naming test, let us compare them to the ratings derived from self-report and observation. Table 9 shows each child and his different ratings according to domain. For the monolingual program students, the word naming test rating agrees with our observations in all but two cases (Maria and Ramon in the block domain). Maria's performance did not display the bilingual abilities we have observed her to use on the block, and Ramon's results conversely revealed more bilingual skills than we ever observed in him. With the bilingually schooled children, the situation is more complex. There are 11 disagreements evenly distributed among the domains between word naming and observational ratings. Nine of these are cases in which our observations indicate greater bilingual skills than emerge on the test. The other two (Chico and Herminio on the block) are indeed striking as their test results indicate more bilingual skills and vocabulary production than we would have expected from essentially Spanish monolingual children. This is probably a result of the nature of the test which calls for listing lexical items, one of the easier tasks for a language learner, though not a good indication of proficiency.

The word naming ratings agree far less often with the self-reports for children in both monolingual and bilingual classes. There are 7 disagreements for the monolingual class children and 14 for the bilingual. Nine of the 14 disagreements for the bilingual class children are cases in which the word naming ratings agree with neither self-report nor observation. There is only one such case among the monolingual class children.

Table 9

Comparison of Dominance Ratings in Different Domains from Word Naming (WN), Self-Report (SR), and Observation (O) among Children in Bilingual and Monolingual Classes

Bilingual Class	Home			Block			School		
	WN	SR	O	WN	SR	O	WN	SR	O
Iris	S	B	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Indio	B	B	B	E	E	E	S	B	B
Conejo	B	S	B	E	B	E	E	B	B
Juanita	S	B	B	E	B	B	B	E	B
Flaquita	E	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Josie	B	B	B	E	E	B	B	B	B
Dorcas	S	B	B	E	B	B	B	B	B
Chico	S	B	S	B	S	S	S	S	S
Herminio	S	B	S	B	B	S	S	B	B

Monolingual Class									
Maria	B	B	B	E	B	B	B	B	B
Pito	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
Debbie	E	B	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
Ramon	E	B	E	B	B	E	E	B	E
Gordito	B	B	B	E	B	E	E	E	E
Linda	E	B	E	E	B	E	E	E	E

It appears that the word naming test is more valid for Puerto Rican children in monolingual classes than for those in bilingual classes, because it tends to neglect broader bilingual skills possessed by children receiving instruction in their first language in basing its ratings solely on vocabulary production.

We will return to questions of validity when we compare the ratings from all the instruments at the end of this chapter.

3.3 Ambiguous Word Language Dominance Test

This test was designed by Gary D. Keller to measure language dominance among Spanish/English bilingual students, 10 years old or older. The test consists of a list of 100 randomly ordered words, 24 of which are ambiguous as to language; in other words, they exist in both languages (e.g. pie, dime). The remaining 76 words are evenly divided between Spanish and English. As the student reads the list aloud, the examiner checks off the ambiguous items according to whether they were pronounced in English or Spanish, omitting any which are pronounced in both languages. The total number of ambiguous words pronounced in English is subtracted from the total pronounced in Spanish in order to arrive at a final score. The scores are then translated into language dominance ratings through a conversion table which permits the ranking of students. The test has a reliability of r = .92 and a validity of r = .84.

We elected to use this test with our sample despite the fact that some of the children were under 10 years of age, since we knew that reading ability varied considerably anyway and not necessarily according to chronological age. As it turned out, 11 of the 15 children tested were able to complete the test with varying degrees of effort. Only 4 (Pito, Gordito, Chico, and Ramon) were completely unable to perform the task due to poor reading skills in either or both languages.

There are several problems with the test which bear mentioning. First of all, the test is based upon literate skills which may or may not be present among a given group of children. The language assessment will therefore be limited to that of formal reading style, and has no bearing on the conversational or oral expression of the child.

Secondly, even the skill measured, that of reading a list, may or may not have any relation to any desired reading skills targeted in a particular program. Reading a list does not equal reading a text, and reading in general does not equal spoken or passive language expression. The question that has to be addressed here (as in all considerations of language proficiency measures) is whether this test can actually assess the kind of language proficiency which is useful to a school program.

Nor does the test provide for dealing with the "padding" or non-ambiguous words. Sometimes these are pronounced as if they too were ambiguous. For example, 5 of our children pronounced bottom as batón; 3 said balloon as balón. Even this much similarity to Spanish was apparently confusing: their use of phonetic strategies for deciphering written words may also be involved.[12] Other times children would read the entire list in one language or the other (not always, incidentally, in their dominant language).

The location of "padding" words tended to affect the outcome of the ambiguous words as well. Despite the random arrangement, there are stretches within the exam during which one language predominates. As a result, the ambiguous words in the vicinity are automatically included in that language as part of the overall reading momentum.

There are certain problems with the ambiguous words themselves. One problem (also apparent in the non-ambiguous words) concerns their complexity. Words like liberal, labor, rival, and plural are not common in the vocabulary of most elementary school children.

Examples of more suitable ambiguous stimuli we might suggest for future versions of the test include: sin, doctor, pan, miles, come, sale, motor, tan, planes, sofa, and son. Also possible are quite and vine. These words are fairly common and easy to read and for the most part are not just latinate words with different pronunciations in English and Spanish, but rather are genuinely distinct words in each language. Among the non-ambiguous words, suit and naughty caused special problems for many of our children.

A final and perhaps most serious problem with the test is the lack of flexibility within the rating scale, which maintains that a score of 3 to -3, for example, is always that of a balanced bilingual, without taking into account what happens when a child pronounces less than the full 24 ambiguous words with clearly English or Spanish phonology. The child who answers 12 in English and 12 in Spanish receives the same rating of "balanced" as one who answers 8 in English and 5 in Spanish and renders the 11 remaining in both languages consecutively (i.e. who guesses the purpose of test), both languages simultaneously (i.e. who mixes phonologies), neither language (produces anomalous utterances), or omits the words altogether. These possibilities are not reflected in the rating scale. It would seem that child 1 can be more accurately termed balanced in his proficiency than child 2.

Table 10 displays the results of the ambiguous stimulus test. The children are presented divided by school program; unfortunately, four of the five children for whom we have no scores belong to monolingual classes and their absence seriously depletes that group and makes comparison difficult.

Table 10

Raw scores and dominance ratings from ambiguous stimulus test for children in bilingual and monolingual classes.

	Spanish	English	Diff. score	Dominance rating
Bilingual				
Iris	22	0	22	S
Josie	19	4	15	sub.S
Dorcas	10	14	-4	mod.E
Chico	-	-	-	-
Indio	8	13	-5	mod.E
Flaquita	10	12	-2	balanced
Juanita	19	1	18	S
Herminio	16	6	10	mod.S
Conejo	9	8	1	balanced
Monolingual				
Pito	-	-	-	-
Gordito	-	-	-	-
Baby	-	-	-	-
Ramon	-	-	-	-
Debbie	0	20	-20	E
Linda	0	22	-22	E
Maria	7	15	-8	mod.E

A quick conversion of the difference scores to proportional difference scores (as in section 3.2 for the word naming test) shows that the rating scale provided for the test is suitable--there is complete agreement between the ratings achieved via the two methods.

The results of the test show that the children in the monolingual classes (limited in number though they are) fall into the English dominant categories, while those in the bilingual classes range from moderately English dominant to completely Spanish dominant. Thus it seems that despite its problems, the test is adequate at distinguishing children at the group level.

However, let us compare the results with those derived from observation and self-report. (Here the self-report ratings will be based on the language children report using most frequently). Table 11 reveals certain disagreements between the ambiguous stimulus ratings and the others. Most glaring are those involving Josie and Juanita. In both cases, the girls performed like Spanish dominants on the test, while we have observed them both to be highly bilingual with considerable code switching between English and Spanish. It may be that since this is a written test and their greatest exposure to literacy thus far in the bilingual classes has been in Spanish, it may have influenced their interpretation of the ambiguous words. Two less problematic disagreements involve Dorcas and Maria, for both of whom the test indicates a slight tendency toward English dominance, while we have observed them to be more balanced in their abilities. It is not clear what is going on with Dorcas, as she was the twin who originally favored Spanish most. In Maria's case, it is most likely due to having been taught to read in English only.

Thus, we have to conclude (from this incomplete information) that the ambiguous stimulus test is probably fairly accurate in determining language dominance when the child's dominance configuration in oral and literate language is the same; problems arise when the child has had different degrees of development in these modes. The test is completely useless for children with reading problems in either or both languages.[13]

Table 11

Comparison of ambiguous stimulus, self-report, and observed dominance ratings for children in bilingual and monolingual classes.

	AS	SR	O
Bilingual			
Iris	S	S	S
Josie	sub. S	B	B
Dorcas	mod. E	B	B
Chico	-	-	-
Indio	mod. E	B	E-B
Flaquita	B	B	B
Juanita	S	B	B
Herminio	mod. S	S	S
Conejo	B	B	E-B
Monolingual			
Pito	—	—	—
Gordito	—	—	—
Baby	—	—	—
Ramon	—	—	—
Debbie	E	E	E
Linda	E	E	E
Maria	mod. E	B	B

Let us now turn to a comparison of the different language proficiency mesures discussed in this report and certain recommendations with regard to efficient and effective assessment of dominance in the classroom.

4.0 Cross-Validation of tests and some suggestions

Clearly a school cannot be expected to administer all of the tests discussed here as well as interview and observe each child in order to make a decision about his language proficiency and placement in an appropriate school program. In this section, we look at the different ratings given for each child and attempt to validate them against each other as well as against the observational and self-report data. We indicate which tests appear most accurate in their assessments and which would be most practical for particular needs. We also point to non-testing ways of arriving at judgments about language dominance.

Table 12 displays the different dominance ratings obtained for each child from the three tests (LAB, word naming by domains, and ambiguous stimulus), self-report, and observation. As throughout this chapter, the children are divided by school program to facilitate analysis of results.

While it would have been preferable to have some statistical measure of the correlations among the different instruments or the distribution of the results for each test, this is not possible here given the small size of the sample and the nominal nature of the categories involved. However, "eyeballing" the data reveals a good deal about the validity of the tests and will have to suffice in the absence of reliable statistical indices.

Speakers	LAB	word naming by domains				ambiguous stimulus	self-report most freq. lg.	observed most freq. lg.
		home	neigh.	church	schl.			
bilingual classes								
Iris	N	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Josie	E	E	E	E	B	sub.S	B	B
Dorcas	E	S	E	E	B	mod.E	B	B
Chico	S	S	B	S	S	-	S	S
Indio	S	B	E	B	S	mod.E	B	E-B
Flaquita	S	E	B	B	B	B	B	B
Juanita	S	S	E	S	B	S	B	B
Herminio	S	S	B	B	S	mod.S	S	S
Conejo	S	B	E	B	E	B	B	E-B
monolingual classes								
Pito	E*	E	E	E	E	-	E	E
Gordito	E	B	E	B	E	-	E	E
Baby	E	-	-	-	-	-	-	E
Ramon	E	E	B	B	E	-	B	E
Debbie	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
Linda	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
Maria	E	B	E	B	B	mod.E	B	B

E = English
S = Spanish
B = Both
N = Neither
- = unavailable
* = test not given English dominance pre-supposed

Table 12

Language dominance assessments from five different sources for children in bilingual and monolingual classes

The most striking point about Table 12 is the variety of ratings obtained for each child. In many cases, the disagreements among ratings are of degree (bilingual versus one or the other language) rather than absolute (English versus Spanish) which indicates that the tests are at least in the right ballpark; however, it is precisely the distinction between balanced bilinguals and English or Spanish 'dominants' which is often ignored in program placement and evaluation. It is not sufficient for a test to identify correctly the two extremes of the language spectrum--it should be able to determine which children are equally proficient in both of their languages.

All of the tests are better predictors of the language abilities of the children in the monolingual classes--i.e. there are fewer contradictions among the ratings for these children than for those in the bilingual classes. Again this is a case in which the tests perform better when measuring an extreme. The tests accurately reflect the fact that these children, though bilingual, are developing only one of their languages on a consistent basis and in a literate form, while the others are receiving reinforcement (not always equal) for both languages in and out of school.

If we take our observations as a base against which to compare the ratings from the other sources, we see that the closest correspondences come from self-report of most frequent language used and the word naming in the school domain. The LAB ratings do not agree at all with our observations for most of the children in the bilingual program. The ambiguous stimulus is variable but less so than the LAB. Therefore, we can establish a tentative ranking of these tests in order of effectiveness or validity--first observations, then self-report,[14] word naming by domains, ambiguous stimulus, and least effective, the LAB.

Admittedly, this ranking is somewhat simplistic and based primarily upon the number of divergences from a standard which in itself may be questionable (observation). Each of the measures has something to commend it and may be more appropriate in certain circumstances than the others. For example, while the ambiguous stimulus test is clearly impossible in cases where children have reading problems, it works well with biliterate children and is more finely graduated in its rankings. The word naming by domains test is very limited in the type of language ability it measures; however, it measures that ability in a wider set of situations than do any of the others except for observation and self-report (see Table 9 for break-down by domain).

As we have illustrated in this chapter, language dominance is a concept that covers a wide range of language behavior and abilities. However defined, it is not static but changes with the varying conditions and life circumstances of the children, and is never monolithic and undifferentiated.

Testing for dominance is fraught with difficulties, and existing tests all fail in some regard to tap the richness and complexity of the bilingual speaker. In order to go beyond the limitations of these tests, a more critical look at the communicative skills demanded by the educational process is necessary. Research on the dynamics of language use in the classroom should attempt to determine those sociolinguistic factors that are most relevant for education. In other words, the criteria for assessing language dominance should derive from knowledge of what occurs in a classroom, or from the objectives of classroom instruction, not a priori definitions of dominance or language proficiency.

The question now remains of what concrete value this understanding has for the practitioner and what methods can be used to obtain the information needed for an improvement of actual daily practice.

The utility of the broadened conception of language dominance presented here lies in part in achieving realistic language assessments that ensure accurate placement, assessment of individual progress, and evaluation of program effectiveness. Different notions of dominance may be relevant for each of the above tasks. For example, the criteria used to determine what has been added to a student's verbal repertoire may differ from those used to check minimal entrance level skills. Educators should decide which notion of dominance is most valid for a given purpose and construct instruments or methods of assessment accordingly. In addition, this approach can assist in the improvement of pedagogical practice. Knowledge of the forms that children already control can help establish a developmental sequence for curricula, avoid some learning problems, and resolve others.

There exist various ways (beyond testing) of obtaining the information needed to enhance the perception of a child's language capabilities. Teachers can check the validity of a child's language assessment by listening to the child in different settings among his peers, particularly those settings which aren't teacher initiated or controlled--for example, lunchroom or playground chatter. Special attention should be paid in these instances to language forms not used in class--the rhymes, jokes, raps, insults, songs, etc.--that characterize child-centered interaction and verbal play (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1976, Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan 1977). They can get a sense of the child's home language environment by talking to parents, visiting the home, and seeing the child interact with his family. If home visits are not feasible, they can observe the child with his parents at arrival or dismissal time. Teachers can further make a judgment of dominance both in and out of class by listening to the children's code-switching. Both the amount and type of switching can be indicators of the dominance of the child and the level of development of each of his languages (see Poplack 1980).

These are only a few potential techniques and cannot take the place of more extended, intensive inquiry. However, they do point to innovative, non-test assessments which are within easy reach of the teacher and which are closely allied to the ethnographic approach which we have found to be useful throughout this project.[15]

In sum, we have considered in this chapter the field of testing language proficiency, a number of tests of language dominance, and the performance of a sample of sixteen Puerto Rican bilingual children on those tests. Comparison of test results with self-report and observation reveals considerable variation and inaccuracy, some of which is due to problems inherent to the tests themselves and some of which is the result of the different patternings of bilingual skills among these children. A tentative ranking of the tests discussed in this chapter, as well as suggestions for non-test measures of language dominance, are offered in hopes of contributing to an understanding of 'language dominance' and 'relative proficiency'. With enough research of this kind, perhaps these research constructs, which have been so loosely tossed around as verities in legislative mandates, may some day be translated into coherent and cogent educational policy that aids rather than hinders the progress of bilingual children in this society.

Notes

1. Validity refers to the degree to which a test measures the traits it is intended to measure and is often determined via correlation with some external criteria. Reliability is a measure of the internal consistency of a test, the extent to which all items measure the same thing, and is determined by repeated administration of the test.

2. See Wald (1981:4) who distinguishes between "language ability" (which corresponds in definition to that given here) and "language proficiency" which he terms "the quantitative measure of these abilities, or a subset of them."

3. The controversy about discrete point versus more general assessments of language proficiency is a complicated one. Lado (1961) and Mackey (1967) favor tests which elicit specific items which can be scored as correct or incorrect, asserting that more naturalistic or spontaneous tests may be manipulated by the speaker in order to avoid certain lexical items or grammatical structures. However, the FSI test shows how this obstacle can be avoided and as Spolsky (1969), Upshur (1969), Briere (1971), and Oller (1979) point out, discrete point testing requires the isolation, objective scoring, and weighting of representative speech elements, for which there exists no clear procedure. The emphasis on the specific elements furthermore ignores the larger communciative competence of the speaker which may be more crucial to his success in the school setting than the mastery of the more discrete elements.

It may be that, as Cohen (1975) suggests, the best approach is to use both discrete point tests and general communication tests in assessing bilingual skills, the latter for their ability to measure fluency independent of language specific structures; the former for their potential utility in ascertaining particular curriculum items which need to be taught.

4. See Oller 1979, Spolsky 1969.

5. It should be noted that in addition to the tests described here, we also administered an instrument to determine the relationship between judgments of ethnicity (based on appearance) and language ability, and another directed toward determining the effect of literacy in Spanish upon phonology. The results of these measures will be reported at a future time.

6. If such questions are intended only to tap the listening ability of the child, then a critique is not appropriate. However, if an assessment of speaking ability is desired here, then the "touch" method is inadequate.

7. See Tilis et.al. (1977) for an assessment of the criterion-related validity of the LAB.

8. We will not dedicate a section to the Stroop test mentioned earlier because of its lack of comparability to the other tests, some irregularities in its administration, and the difficulties of translating the scores into pedogogically useful forms. See Appendix D for a report of those and other problems.

9. Fishman (1971) defines a domain as a cluster of social situations which are typically constrained by a common set of behavioral norms. Domains include the roles of interlocutors and the topics of discussion as well as the settings.

10. A speaker's bilingual dominance configuration describes the bilinguality of the individual in terms of language use and proficiency in speaking, listening, reading, and writing across language varieties and societal domains.

11. Cooper (1971) converts his raw scores to mean relative Spanish proficiency scores via the formula $\left(\frac{\text{Spanish-English}}{\text{larger of two}} + 1\right) \div 2$, which yields scores ranging from 0 to 1 with .50 indicating balance. A quick check against our own formula indicates overall compatibility, although Cooper's is more stringent and assigns English or Spanish dominance to certain children we would rate as balanced.

12. Most teachers in this school rely upon phonics to teach reading. There is some instruction in word shapes, but no use of experiential charts or other more functionally based approaches to reading.

13. This is clearly the case with any written tests; however, it is most striking with tests of language proficiency, as reading is only one of the modes of language.

14. It is important to remember that the self-report utilized here was solicited only after a strong relationship was developed between interviewer and child in a comfortable, familiar setting. We would not place such reliance on self-report obtained in the usual quick and ready manner, for too many factors can influence the responses when interviewer and child are not well-acquainted.

15. Of course, ethnographic techniques require time. Therefore school officials would have to provide teachers with opportunities within their school day to carry out the suggestions made above.

References

Bowen, J. 1977. Linguistic perspectives on bilingual education. In B. Spolsky and R. Cooper (eds.). Frontiers of bilingual education. Rowley, Massachussetts: Newbury House.

Briere, E. 1971. Are we really measuring proficiency with our foreign language tests? Foreign Language Annals 4:4, 385-391.

Cohen, A. 1975. A sociolinguistic approach to bilingual education. Experiments in the American Southwest. Rowley, Massachussetts: Newbury.

Cooper, R. 1971. Degree of bilingualism. In Fishman et al., 273-309.

Cummins, J. 1979. Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. Review of Educational Research 49:2, 222-251.

De Avila, E. and S. Duncan. 1976. A few thoughts about language assessment: The Lau decision reconsidered. Manuscript.

De Avila, E. and D. Ulibarri. 1981. Letter to the Editor. NABE News 4:3, 2,7,8,10.

Dulay, H. and M. Burt. 1980. "The relative proficiency of limited English proficient students," NABE Journal 4:3, 1-23.

Edelman, M., R. Cooper, and J. Fishman. 1971. Young Puerto Rican Schoolchildren. In Fishman et.al., 298-304.

Ervin - Tripp, and C. Mitchell-Kernan (eds.). 1977. Child discourse. New York: Academic Press.

Fishman, J. 1971. Sociolinguistics: A brief introduction. Rowley, Massachussetts, Newbury.

Fishman, J., R. Cooper, and R. Ma. 1971. Bilingualism in the Barrio. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gillmore, G. and A. Dickerson. 1979. The relationship between instruments used for identifying children of limited English speaking ability in Texas. Region IV Education Service Center, Houston, Texas.

Hernandez-Chavez, E. 1978. Critique of a critique: issues in language assessment. NABE Journal 2:2, 47-56.

Hymes, D. 1972. Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.). Directions in Sociolinguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (ed.). 1976. *Speech play: Research and resources for the study of linguistic creativity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lado, R. 1961. *Language testing*. London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd.

Mackey, W. 1967. *Language teaching analysis*. Bloomington; Indiana University Press.

North West Regional Education Laboratory Center for Bilingual Education. 1978. Assessment instruments in bilingual education: A descriptive catalog of 342 oral and written tests. Los Angeles, California: National Dissemination and Assessment Center.

Oller, J. 1979. *Language tests at school*. London: Longman Group Ltd.

Poplack, S. 1980. 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL': Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics* 18, 581-618.

Quiñones, N. 1977. Results of the LAB test given to 27 English dominant 9th graders. Manuscript.

Rodriguez-Brown, F. 1979. The effect of language used for early reading instruction: A bilingual perspective. Report to NIE, NIE - 6-78-0134.

Rodriguez-Brown, F. and Elias-Olivares. 1981. Bilingual children's home and school language: An ethnographic-sociolinguistic perspective. Final report to National Institute of Education, 400-79-0042.

Santiago, I. 1977. *Aspira versus Board of Education of City of New York: A history*. New York: Aspira.

Savignon, S. 1972. Communicative competence: An experiment in foreign language teaching. Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development.

Spolsky, B. 1969. Language testing - The problem of validation. *Florida Foreign Language Reporter* 7:1, 100-102, 163-164.

Teitelbaum, H. 1976. Testing bilinguality in elementary school children. Ph.D. thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Tilis, H. S., W. Weichun, G. Goffman, and R. Cumbo. 1977. A validation study: The relationship of the Language Assessment Battery with teacher's ratings of student language effectiveness. Brooklyn, New York: Office of Educational Evaluation, Board of Education of the City of New York.

Troike, R. 1981. Social and cultural aspects of language proficiency. Paper presented at the Language Proficiency Assessment Symposium. Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia.

Tucker, G. 1974. The assessment of bilingual and bicultural factors of communication. In S. Carey (ed.). Bilingualism, biculturalism, and education. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Ulibarri, D., M. Spencer and G. Rivas. 1980. Comparability of three oral language proficiency instruments and their relationship to achievement variables. San Francisco, California: Americas Behavioral Research Corporation.

Upshur,J. 1969. Productive communication testing:Progress report. Paper presented at Second International Congress of Applied Linguistics. Cambridge, United Kingdom. September 8-12.

Upshur, J. and A. Palmer. 1974. Measures of accuracy, communicative and social judgments for two classes of foreign language speakers. In A. Verdoot (ed.). Applied sociolinguistics. Heidelberg: Julius Gross Vrlap.

Wald, B. 1981. On assessing the oral language ability of limited English proficient students: The linguistic bases of the non-comparability of different language proficiency assessment measures. Paper presented at Language Assessment Institute. National College of Education. Evanston, Illinois. June 18.

Weinreich, U. 1953. Languages in Contact. The Hague: Mouton.

CHAPTER SIX -- GENDER ASSIGNMENT

1. Introduction

Detailed studies of morphophonological, syntactic and semantic developments in the Spanish spoken by Puerto Rican bilinguals in New York City (Poplack 1978, 1980a, 1980b; Pousada and Poplack 1979, Sankoff and Poplack 1980) show that they are internal, or systemic tendencies, and not due to influence from English. On the basis of those studies, we concluded that nearly a century of contact had not affected the Puerto Rican Spanish grammatical system, and that influence from English was probably largely confined to more superficial levels of linguistic structure.

In this paper we examine one area in which the contact situation has had a clear effect: the lexicon. In particular, we focus on one means available for speakers to incorporate foreign material into the host language: the assignment of gender to borrowed nouns. In what follows we will first discuss the motivations for the study of gender assignment, review the factors cited in the literature as responsible, and then estimate the effects of all of these factors combined in contributing to the attribution of one gender rather than the other to English nouns borrowed into Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS). We will then examine both intergenerational and inter-linguistic patterns by 1) comparing adult behavior with that of their children, and 2) comparing Puerto Rican patterns with Montreal French (MF), a language which is typologically similar to Spanish, and which has coexisted with English even longer than Puerto Rican Spanish, although under rather different circumstances.[1]

2. The Category of Gender

Languages may be divided typologically into those which have grammatical gender (e.g. Indo-European languages) and those which do not (e.g. Finno-Ugric, Chinese, Basque languages). Among gender languages, two-gender systems, distinguishing masculine and feminine, and three-gender systems, distinguishing masculine, feminine and neuter, are the most common, although developments in these classificatory systems vary widely from language to language. In the Romance languages, for example, the original three-gender system has been reduced to two; some Scandinavian dialects have gender systems which group masculine and feminine together against neuter, etc.

Grammatical gender is considered by most linguists to be a surface syntactic means for classifying nouns according to their suffix, the correlation between natural sex and gender being secondary and imperfect. (See Fodor 1959 and Ibrahim 1973 for discussion of the relevant literature.) In this, gender resembles nominal class systems such as those of the Bantu and other African languages, as concord or agreement are the most important criterion in both types of system. Gender as well as class languages have three basic word classes: words with inherent gender or class (nouns), words with concordial gender (these will vary according to the language), and those with neither (invariable constituents). In both French and Spanish, determiners, most adjectives and pronouns must agree in gender with the head noun; participial verbs also show agreement under certain circumstances.[2] We refer in what follows to these elements as "gender carriers". In English, on the other hand, gender has lost its function as a grammatical category, and persists only in pronouns referring to animate beings or personified inanimate nouns. Given the differences between the languages under consideration, we will seek to establish how gender is assigned to nouns borrowed from a language in which gender is not a syntactic category.

We will also examine whether there is any weakening of this complex system of noun classification ascribable to the contact situation by comparing gender assignment among second and third generation speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish, the majority of whom were raised in the United States, with that of their parents. We will specifically seek to establish whether formal training in Spanish (i.e. participation in bilingual programs) to which about half the children are exposed, is a differentiating factor in children's behavior.

The category of grammatical gender has been characterized as "one of the unsolved puzzles of linguistic science" (Fodor 1959, Ibrahim 1973). Since at least the fifth century B.C., linguists have not been able to agree on whether the origins and functions of gender are semantic or syntactic. Deciding this question is complicated by the fact that it is not clear whether any given noun has its specific gender by virtue of its synchronic phonological, syntactic and/or semantic properties, or simply because this gender was transmitted by previous generations of speakers of the language.

This explains in part the recent proliferation of studies of gender assignment to loanwords (e.g. Arndt 1970, Beardsmore 1971, Zamora 1975, Lang 1976, Barkin 1980), since examination of borrowed forms provides an ideal opportunity to investigate synchronically the factors operative in assigning gender to new material, which has not been handed down from previous generations.

Though we agree with Haugen (1969:441) that such studies cannot shed light on the origin of gender--indeed, there is little consensus in the literature on whether formal or semantic influences predominate, even in studies of the same language--they can tell us something about the present-day functioning of gender in these languages, and contribute to our knowledge of one aspect of the integration of borrowed material into a recipient language.

3. Previous Studies of Gender Assignment

The factors cited in the literature as responsible for gender assignment in borrowed nouns (e.g. Haden and Joliat 1940, Reed 1942, Weinreich 1953, Haugen 1969, Ibrahim 1973) include a) the physiological sex of the (animate) referent, b) identification of the phonological shape of the loanword with a class of shapes in the host language requiring a certain gender (e.g. most Spanish words ending in *-r* take masculine, French words ending in *-ie* take feminine), c) association with a host language semantic equivalent and ascription to the borrowed word of the gender of that equivalent (PRS *el book* < *el libro*; MF *la cookerie* < *la cuisine*) to which we refer as "analogical" gender, d) association with the gender of a host language homophone (e.g. Eng. *color* ∿ Sp. *color*; Eng. *party* ∿ Fr. *parti*), e) association of a borrowed suffix with a host suffix requiring a certain gender (Eng. *-y* with Sp. *-ía*, Fr. *-ie*; Eng. *-ment* with Sp. *-miento*, Fr. *-ment*).

Also noted anecdotally (Arndt 1970) is the factor of graphemic image of a loanword. Although this factor may have some import in French, since borrowed words retaining English spellings in the dictionary appear (at least from the data presented in Tucker et al. 1977) to favor masculine gender, it is questionable whether it affects Puerto Rican Spanish, a language in which only a small proportion of borrowed words are old (or accepted) enough to appear in print at all, let alone in the dictionary.[3]

Even in the French case it is by no means clear whether the written form of a given word determines its pronunciation and hence, its gender (what Haden and Joliat (1940:80) call "learned borrowings"), or whether the spelling is made to conform with a previously assigned pronunciation and/or gender. Indeed, the provenance of well-established borrowings in Montreal French--whether via Metropolitan French and hence probably through written sources, or through independent developments--is often problematic.

Since, moreover, our data were not elicited through written questionnaires, but were extracted from naturally occurring speech, we omitted the graphemic factor from our calculations.

A final factor is the tendency (cited by Haugen 1969, Correa-Zoli 1973), to which we return below, for loanwords to take on the so-called "unmarked" gender of the host language, presumably masculine in French and Spanish.

The aforementioned studies have basically attempted to isolate the single factor responsible for gender assignment and to explain away the exceptions in terms of other factors. Haugen says of Norwegian that the general rule is that "all nouns become masculine unless they are associated with a homophonous feminine or neuter morpheme or a female creature" (1969:448). Aside from the somewhat *ad hoc* nature of such a "rule", these studies often lead to conflicting results. Thus, in describing gender assignment to English loanwords in German, Lang (1976) tells us that the basis is semantic, Arndt (1970) claims that it is graphemic and morphological, and an earlier study by Reed (1942) cites analogical, suffixal, and physiological criteria as well as association of English *the* with the German feminine determiner *die*.

Correa-Zoli (1973) tells us that the general trend in gender assignment in Italian is masculine, the exceptions to which can be explained by the pull of phonological shape and placement within a semantic class. In a psycholinguistic study, Ervin Tripp (1973) found that even in nonsense words, gender had semantic connotations for Italian-English bilinguals.

The problem with the studies which claim predominance of a single factor is the embarrassment of exceptions to be accounted for, while those which admit more than one factor fail to examine every loanword systematically to see if they could have been at play simultaneously. Thus, in accounting for feminine "deviations" from the masculine Italian "norm", Correa-Zoli explains away *la norsa* 'nurse' as being due to association with natural gender, *la pinta* 'paint' by its placement within a semantic class, and *la suera* 'sweater' as a result of phonic adaptation (1973:125-126). From the shape of these words, however, it is plain that the last-mentioned factor could well account for all of these cases.

How do these investigators know which factor takes precedence when more than one is present?

Two other studies deserving of mention are those of Beardsmore (1971) on Flemish loanwords in Brussels French and Barkin (1980) on English loanwords in Chicano Spanish. In contrast with the rest of the literature, which has generally reported an overwhelming inter-speaker regularity in the assignment of gender, even if there was not much agreement on the factors motivating gender choice, Beardsmore suggests that speakers who do not keep their two languages separate will show deviant gender assignment patterns compared with the rest of the community (p. 142).[4] Barkin takes this tack further by correlating the quantity of unassimilated loanwords with the complete absence of gender indications on borrowed nouns in Chicano Spanish. She claims that for those informants who chose more phonologically assimilated loanwords and/or few English borrowings, gender remained an important grammatical category. However, for those who used unassimilated items from English, gender played little or no role (p. 5).

We must point out that since gender does not exist on its own, but is manifested morphologically in certain sentence elements, this sort of finding, viz. that degree of phonological integration of a word correlates with the presence or absence of the category of gender, seems highly unlikely, unless the speakers belong to some speech community where determiners, pronouns and adjectives, the gender carriers, are not used in Spanish. Rather we assume that her results are due both to her elicitation technique, which consisted of asking a respondent to identify a picture (to which a common response is simply, e.g. "*dog*"), and to the fact, to be discussed in section (5.3.2), that gender is not always required or shown.

To verify these impressions, and as part of our ongoing studies of the types of influence one language may exercise on another, we also examined the presence of gender in terms of syntactic requirements for its expression.

4. Variation Theory and Borrowings

The variationist approach contributes two new aspects to the study of borrowings in general and to the study of their gender assignment in particular.

The data bases for most previous work have been set up through elicitation or translation procedures, or through the collection of examples from various sources: written, or spoken and overheard by the linguist. The present study uses instead two large corpora of the spoken language, which enables us to situate borrowed nouns in their natural context.

The second aspect of the variationist approach is to treat gender assignment as a variable process. This needs some justification, for as we will confirm later, with few exceptions, the gender of loanwords is not variable. However, at the time the word is being borrowed, the various factors which influence the choice of gender impinge on this choice in a way analogous to the way environmental factors affect a linguistic variable in discourse. Proof of this claim, that the choice of gender is attributable to a combination of quantitative influences from various factors, and that these influences only determine the probability that the choice be masculine or feminine, is a major goal of this paper.

This differs from the traditional explanatory paradigm whereby all loanwords having a certain characteristic, say, will be masculine and the rest feminine, except when certain features are present, when the choice will be reversed, except for certain exceptions to these exceptions, and so on. We suggest that this latter deterministic approach to explaining gender assignment represents an invalid use of hindsight to incorrectly avoid the element of unpredictability inherent in the assignment process.

Our point of view is perhaps best enunciated by Haugen, although, presumably for lack of a suitable analytical framework, he himself had recourse to the deterministic fallacy cited above:

> Where several factors have operated, we have no good way of saying which one was the most important. We cannot rule out the possibility of

> coincidence unless we have a large number of instances and as few exceptions as possible. At best we are dealing with probabilities.
>
> The explanations advanced so far have not made it possible to set up rules by which one could predict the gender of every noun. Most students have had a residue of forms which seemed to defy every rule, and one is tempted to say with C.B. Wilson that chance has been a considerable factor (1969:441).

5. Data and Methods

5.1 Data

The data on which this study is based are drawn from two rather distinct data bases. One consists of over 300 hours of taped speech recorded from 16 Puerto Rican working-class children and their parents and elders, all residents of a single block in East Harlem, New York. These data were recorded during several years of participant observation in a wide variety of situations and settings, characterized by speech ranging from highly formal to "vernacular" styles.[5] The composition of the sample is described in detail elsewhere (Language Policy Task Force 1980, Chapters 1-3 of this report). Suffice it to say here that both adults and children include fluent and non-fluent bilinguals; the children were additionally selected according to whether their language of instruction in school was Spanish or English, in order to investigate whether those who receive formal training in Spanish show different patterns of gender assignment from those who acquired Spanish outside of school.

The French data were extracted from a computerized corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with a socially stratified, randomly selected sample of 120 speakers of Montreal French (Sankoff and Sankoff 1973, Sankoff et al. 1976, 1978; Sankoff 1978).[6] Thus, in contrast to other studies of gender assignment to loanwords cited above, the data used here were neither specifically elicited nor collected from written texts; all instances of borrowed nouns occurred spontaneously in speech collected for other purposes.

The dissimilarities between the samples in social and stylistic representativeness, as well as the differences in the status of francophones in Montreal and Puerto Ricans in New York City are evident.[7] These differences could prove crucial in the study of the propensity to use loanwords versus native words, of situational determinants of loanword use, of rate of occurrence of loanwords, of preferred semantic fields for loanwords, etc. However, rather than approach any of these issues, this study will be limited to the examination of only one aspect of the incorporation into the host language of borrowed nouns once they are used: their assignment to a gender. In this sense the two data bases are comparable: with few exceptions (section (5.3.2)), speakers of both Montreal French and Puerto Rican Spanish must assign gender to English nouns when producing them in a host language context.

Moreover, though inter-speaker vacillation in gender assignment has been ascribed to social factors (Arndt 1970, Beardsmore 1971), we will show that any differences in gender assignment which do emerge are language-specific, and not due to social or stylistic differences either between or within the samples.

5.2 "Borrowed" Nouns

For the purposes of this study we define as borrowed any single noun which can be etymologically identified as having entered the language via English. In an effort to separate potential instances of code-switching from borrowing, we excluded all cases in which two or more consecutive English words were involved. Thus examples like (1) were excluded from this study:

1a. MF: C'est *push button business*, puis le cerveau n'est pas développé. (97/308)[8] 'It's push-button business [automated], and you don't get to use your brain.'

1b. PRS: Te cogieron ahí en el *white door*. (3/403) 'They got you there at the white door.'

Compounds, which can be argued to represent a single unit in the mind of the speaker, were included:

2a. MF: Elle sait pas encore ce que c'est qu'un *miracle mart*. (96/461) 'She still doesn't know what a miracle mart is.'

2b. PRS: Vamos pa' arriba a meter mano a la *tape recorder*. (5/213) 'Let's go upstairs and fool around with the tape recorder.'

Aside from this distinction, borrowed nouns were treated regardless of degree of social or other integration into the community repertoire. We thus considered very old and well-accepted terms like *sandwich*, *snob* (which came into Metropolitan French in 1801 and 1857 respectively),[9] along with others which are comparatively recent (e.g. MF *les speedés* 'speed freaks', PRS *los sergio* 'jeans').[10] We included words which are completely integrated phonologically (Fr. *budget* [byd'ʒe], PRS *mattress* ['matre]) and/or morphologically (MF *le stoppage* 'act of stopping', PRS *la estofa* 'stuff') as well as those which were not. Some words, like *club*, *gang*, *job*, appeared over 100 times each in the Montreal French corpus.[11] Others, such as MF *boardwalk*, *pee-wee*, PRS *two-timer*, *footprint*, were only uttered once by a single speaker. In fact, it is an empirical question whether the latter should be considered instances of single-word code-switching rather than borrowing; in the absence of further information they were included in this study.

All of these cases, different in degree, though perhaps not in substance, reflect the diversity inherent in bilingual speech performance. A full study of loanwords would need to distinguish among them;[12] however, regardless of their degree of acceptance or integration in the community, each of these nouns must be assigned a gender when uttered in a French or Spanish context. It is the factors involved in the assignment process which are the focus of study here.

5.3 Coding Procedures

Every borrowed noun in the two corpora thus identified was coded as to the gender of its animate referent, its analogical translate, its host language homophone, and analogy with its suffixal ending, if any of these were pertinent, and as Ø if they were not, as exemplified in Table 1. Thus the occurrence of PRS *shorty* and MF *boy friend* in the respective corpora were coded as M for physiological referent, since they both referred to males; *blackout* and *necking* were coded as Ø, as they have no animate referent, etc.

FACTOR	SPANISH EXAMPLE	FRENCH EXAMPLE		CODE
Physiological sex of (animate) referent:	*shorty*	*boy friend*		M
	cousin	*tomboy*		F
	blackout	*necking*		Ø
Phonological gender:	*suéter* 'sweater'	*appointement*	(integrated)	M
	pencil		(unintegrated)	M
	suera 'sweater'	*bobépines*	(integrated)	F
	orchestra		(unintegrated)	F
	rai 'ride'	*chum*	(integrated)	Ø
	flowerseeds		(unintegrated)	Ø
Analogical gender:	*building* (<el edificio)	*spring* (<le ressort)		M
	butterfly (<la mariposa)	*déliverie* (<la livraison)		F
	afro	*boogie*		Ø
Homophony:	*color* (<el color)	*establishment* (<l'établissement, m.)		M
	jacket (<la chaqueta)	*nation* (<la nation)		F
	coat	*sportswear*		Ø
Suffixal Analogy:	*language* (<el --aje)	*stoppage* (<le --age)		M
	education (<la --ión)	*bakery* (<la --ie)		F
	overtime	*stock*		Ø

Table 1. Factors conditioning gender assignment.

In addition, each borrowed noun was coded according to whether its phonological shape corresponded to any phonologically-based rules for gender assignment in the host language.

5.3.1 Phonological Rules for Gender Assignment in Spanish and French

The prescriptive phonological rules for gender assignment to Spanish nouns are rather straightforward.[13] Aside from a few well-defined exceptions, words ending in unstressed *-a*, in *-d*, *-z* and in a number of suffixes (*-dad*, *-tad*, *-tud*, *-umbre*, *-ie*, *-ión*) require feminine gender; compounds and those ending in the other vowels, consonants and suffixes are assigned masculine (Bull 1965, Holt and Dueber 1973, Socarras 1975, Alcina Franch 1975). On the basis of these rules, a word like *suéter* 'sweater' would be coded as phonologically masculine; *suera* 'sweater', as phonologically feminine.

Prescriptive rules for gender assignment in French, in contrast, are of little help in determining gender. The grammar of the Académie française (1932:18), for example, gives the following information:

> Il y a deux genres: le masculin (père, loup); le féminin (mère, louve). 'There are two genders: the masculine (father, wolf); the feminine (mother, she-wolf).'

An elementary grammar for French children (Galichet and Mondouand 1963, cited in Tucker et al. 1977:14) gives the hint:

> Pour savoir si un nom commun est au masculin, essayez de mettre devant lui *le* ou *un*. 'To find out whether a common noun is masculine, try to put *le* or *un* [masculine determiners] before it.'

The vagueness of these rules is due to the fact that phonological shape only minimally determines gender assignment to French nouns. In their monumental investigation of gender assignment to over 31,000 nouns in the Petit Larousse dictionary, Tucker and associates (1977) found that noun ending and grammatical gender did occur in a systematic and predictive fashion (p. 58). By this they mean that it is possible to predict and prove that rare or invented nouns ending in certain groups of phones (e.g. *-ation*) will be assigned feminine by native speakers, and others (e.g. *-isme*) will be assigned masculine. For still others--the majority--they predict that native speakers will not assign gender consistently. (This is the case for words ending in *-oire*, for example. About half of the words with this ending in the French dictionary are feminine, the others are masculine. Little surprise, then, that native speakers vacillate in assigning gender to uncommon French nouns with this shape.)

In coding for phonological gender of nouns borrowed into French, then, we systematically compared their word endings with every ending listed in the Tucker et al. compilation.[14] Only when an ending exhibited a strong preference for a certain gender (in the area of at least 10 to 1) did we code it as belonging phonologically to that gender (e.g. as 1,268 out of 1,277 words ending in *-age* are masculine in French, a word like MF *choppage* would have been coded as phonologically masculine). When a particular ending in English could be associated with many French endings (e.g. Eng. *-ck* with Fr. *-c*, *-que*, *-ques*, *-cque*), we did not associate it with any, unless 1) all took the same gender or 2) one ending was far more common than the others.

For the Puerto Rican Spanish data we further coded each English noun for degree of phonological integration into Spanish (e.g. *tena* ['tena] 'tenant' was coded as fully integrated; *book* ['bʊk], as unintegrated). This was not possible for the French data, which were extracted from the written concordance to the corpus rather than the actual tapes.

5.3.2 Syntactic Requirements for the Expression of Gender

We also coded for each borrowed noun the actual gender assigned. As we will see below, many nouns could not be so coded. Since gender is a concord rule, its indications may be conveyed on determiners, adjectives or pronouns, as well as on past participles. As these are not always obligatory categories, and as gender distinctions are neutralized on some (e.g. French plurals, Spanish possessive adjectives), there are many cases of borrowed nouns which did not show gender.

In this connection, we examined for each borrowed noun whether or not a gender carrier was syntactically required. For example, instances where the gender carrier is not required in French included nouns following certain prepositions, as in (3), and after the copula, as in (4).

3. Et puis, les français, eux-autres, ils se bercent en Ø *rocking chair* puis e...bien, nous-autres, on "watche" puis on watche en anglais, nous-autres. (92/362) 'Well, the French [it's okay if] they rock in a rocking chair, but us, if we [say] "watche", we're watching in English.'

4. J'ai un de mes *chums*, moi, qui est Ø *boss*, c'est lui qui a le plus gros titre de la compagnie. (95/962) 'I've got a friend who's a boss, he's the one with the highest rank in the company.'

In nouns beginning with a vowel (5), after *notre*, *votre* (6), and in plural determiners (4), the gender distinction can be neutralized.

5. Moi, je parlerais jamais mal contre l'*establishment*, parce que moi, j'en travaille pour du monde qui sont dans l'*establishment*. (114/736) 'I would never say anything against the establishment because I work for people who are in the establishment.'

6. Il fallait faire notre Ø *stop*. (71/85) 'We had to make our stop.'

Similarly, in Spanish gender carriers are not required with mass nouns (7), plural nouns following verbs (8) or prepositions (9); gender distinctions are neutralized in unstressed possessives (9), etc.

7. Hasta Ø *overtime* me dió. (01/3) 'He even gave me overtime.'

8. Esos son Ø *ups*. (40/61) 'Those are ups [uppers].'

9. Le quitaron sus Ø *estripes* y todo, y le pusieron en Ø *plainclothes* a trabajar. (49/41) 'They took away his stripes and everything and put him to work in plainclothes.'

On the basis of these coding procedures, we examined 1,049 borrowed nouns in the French and Spanish corpora, to which 765 were assigned a gender. We first investigated whether the assignment of gender to borrowed nouns proceeds according to monolingual rules.

6. The Expression of Gender According to Syntactic Requirements

Table 2 depicts the proportion of gender expressed in Puerto Rican Spanish and Montreal French according to syntactic requirements for its expression in the respective languages.

	Puerto Rican Spanish		Montreal French
	Children	Adults	
Gender Required	99% 172/173	99% 282/284	98% 276/283
Gender not Required	4% 1/24	9% 11/118	10% 15/146

Table 2. Percentage of gender expressed according to syntactic requirement.

We note first that gender may be expressed, even when the determiner is not required or is uninflected for gender, via other sentence elements which are also gender carriers, as is the case in (10) and (11):

10a. PRS: Yo creo que mi *hair* está lind*a*, beautiful. (02/334) 'I think my hair is pretty, beautiful.'

10b. Yo tengo *habits* más car*os* que smoking. (5/191) 'I have more expensive habits than smoking.'

11a. MF: Tes *hot dogs* sont pas prê*tes*, la steam, elle vient pas. (78/326) 'Your hot dogs aren't ready, the steam isn't coming.'

11b. Je vous dis, l'*overtime*, *elle* se fait rare en désespoir. (6/374) 'I'm telling you, overtime is getting terribly scarce.'

However, when the expression of gender, or more accurately, expression of the gender carrier, is required in the host language, it is almost categorically expressed. This is true of speakers of both Puerto Rican Spanish and Montreal French, regardless of the socio-economic, educational, age-based and other distinctions among them. The Puerto Rican Spanish data, which include borrowed nouns which are both phonologically integrated and unintegrated, confirm that the expression of gender does not depend on phonological shape of the borrowed noun, as Barkin (1980) claims, but on the syntactic rules of the host language. Even more striking is the finding that the Puerto Rican children, some of whom have not yet finished the acquisition process, and who vary widely as to their bilingual ability, do not differ significantly from each other or from their parents in this regard. Table 2 shows that the complex system of noun classification which is gender is internalized by children as early as age 5, and this regardless of their formal training in Spanish.

Having ascertained that the usage of gender *per se* proceeds with borrowed nouns as in native ones, we turn next to the factors which determine the choice of masculine versus feminine gender for a given noun.

7. The Roles of Individual Factors in Gender Assignment

Table 3 presents the proportion of feminine gender assigned by the three samples to borrowed nouns according to the conditioning factors described in section 4.

		Puerto Rican Spanish		Puerto Rican Adults		Puerto Rican Children		Montreal French	
		F/N	%	F/N	%	F/N	%	F/N	%
Physiological gender:	M	0/29	0	0/13	0	0/16	0	0/14	0
	F	15/17	88	10/11	91	5/6	83	3/3	100
	Ø	46/428	11	21/269	8	25/159	16	60/274	22
Phonological gender:	M (int.)	8/130	6	8/94	8	0/36	0	5/52	10
	M (un.)	24/183	13	14/119	12	10/64	16		
	F (int.)	10/12	83	3/5	60	7/7	100	6/17	35
	F (un.)	1/3	33	1/2	50	0/1	0		
	Ø (int.)	4/21	19	0/11	0	4/10	40	52/222	23
	Ø (un.)	14/125	11	5/62	8	9/63	14		
Analogical gender:	M	7/242	3	3/142	2	4/100	4	20/107	19
	F	46/158	29	24/92	26	22/66	33	29/65	45
	Ø	8/74	11	4/59	7	4/15	27	14/119	12
Homophony:	M	0/38	0	0/29	0	0/9	0	0/3	0
	F	7/22	32	5/16	31	2/6	33	1/3	33
	Ø	52/404	13	24/238	10	28/166	17	62/285	22
	either	2/10	20	2/10	20	0/0		0/0	
Suffixal analogy:	M	0/4	0	0/3	0	0/1	0	1/28	4
	F	1/9	11	1/8	13	0/1	0	4/5	80
	Ø	46/406	11	21/243	9	25/163	15	56/250	22
	TOTAL	61/474	13	31/293	11	30/181	17	63/291	22

Table 3. Proportion of feminine gender assigned to borrowed nouns according to conditioning factors.

7.1 The Factors

7.1.1 Physiological gender

Although only a relatively small proportion of borrowed nouns could be assigned physiological gender (less than 10% in the Puerto Rican corpus and less than 6% in the Montreal French corpus), Table 3 shows that in those cases where this factor is present, it completely determines gender assignment to the noun, confirming the claims in the literature.[15] This was the case even when words had a definite phonological shape requiring the opposite gender (e.g. *el tena* 'the tenant', which by the prescriptive rules outlined in section (5.3.1) would require feminine, but which actually referred to a male). This confirms the relative rarity of epicene gender, whereby a noun is uninflectable, even when referring to beings of both sexes (e.g. Fr. *le docteur*, 'male or female doctor', Sp. *la foca* 'male or female seal', Fr. and Sp. *le/el bebé* 'male or female baby'), at least in languages like French and Spanish. It remains to be seen whether this holds in languages where physiological gender is less of a determinant than syntactic gender (e.g. Swedish, German, Greek).

7.1.2 Analogical Gender

According to the coding rules mentioned above, we could assign analogical gender to 84% of the borrowed nouns in the Spanish corpus but to only 60% of the words in the French corpus. This discrepancy may have two causes. The first is simply our lesser familiarity with Montreal French compared to Puerto Rican Spanish. The second is the apparently greater preponderance of borrowed words in current idiomatic expressions in the Montreal French corpus, to which we did not assign analogical gender when there was no obvious counterpart involving word-for-word translation, as in (12) and (13).

12. Ils faisaient deux, trois mois d'armée, apres ça
ils sacraient leur camp sur le *loose*. (95/516)
'They did two, three months in the army, after
that they got the hell out of there.'

13. Il y'en a pas d'ouvrage, el il faut avoir bien du *pushing*. (35/131) 'There's no work, and you've got to have a lot of pull.'

Though we have not yet investigated this rigorously, it may indicate differential borrowing behavior in the two cultures: the large majority (approximately 80%) of borrowings into Montreal French are items which are either low on a translatability scale (e.g. *mini-mart*, *pop shop*, *dinky toy*), international terms (e.g. *revolver*, *basketball*), or slang expressions (e.g. *necking*, *stuff*, *pep pill*), whereas in this Puerto Rican speech community many more of the borrowed nouns refer to easily translatable, every-day items (e.g. *matre* 'mattress', *toile* 'toilet', *book*, *glove*).

The effect of analogical gender on gender assignment is quite significant in both Montreal French and Puerto Rican Spanish, as may be seen in Table 4.

	Puerto Rican Spanish	Montreal French
Analogically:		
masculine	206/213 97% masc.	73/93 78% masc.
M, F, and Ø	382/428 89% masc.	211/274 77% masc.
feminine	110/141 78% masc.	36/62 58% masc.

Table 4. Effect of analogical gender on assignment of masculine gender when tokens determined by physiological gender are removed. (Abstracted from Table 3.)

Even after removing the tokens determined by the physiological gender of the referent, 97% of Puerto Rican Spanish analogically masculine nouns took masculine gender, as compared to only 78% of the analogically feminine nouns (where the average rate of masculine in the corpus is 87%). In Montreal French, 78% of analogically masculine nouns took masculine, as compared to 58% of analogically feminine nouns (overall rate of masculine = 77%). As we shall see later, this effect is independent of the phonological shape of the borrowed noun. We have thus isolated a clear semantic component to gender choice as distinct both from physiological and phonological influences. The noun is being assigned gender to some extent simply on the basis of its perceived semantic equivalence (or partial equivalence) to a word having that gender in the host language.

7.1.3 Phonological Shape

Largely as a consequence of the fact that the rules for French gender assignment on the basis of word-ending are generally much less well-defined than the Spanish rules, only about one-fourth (23%) of the nouns in the Montreal French corpus had an ending which might be expected to have a phonological effect on the gender assigned, compared to about 70% of the Spanish words. This is also partially due to the greater tendency of French to leave English borrowings phonologically unintegrated, aside from a levelling of syllabic stress. (Thus, a word like MF *bargain* can be pronounced [bárgə́n], with equal stress on both syllables. Since the last syllable does not occur in French, no phonology-based gender rule could be expected to apply.)

However, where phonologically-based gender assignment rules are clearly applicable, they have a strong effect in both Spanish and French. Despite the small number of borrowed nouns with feminine-type endings, as we go from strongly integrated nouns with masculine-type endings, to less integrated cases, to nouns without typically Spanish or French endings, to feminine-type endings, the proportion of feminine gender increases systematically, as may be seen in Table 5.

Ending:	Masculine integrated	Masculine unintegrated	Not Classified	Feminine unintegrated	Feminine integrated
Puerto Rican Spanish	8/130 6%	24/183 13%	18/146 12%	1/3 33%	10/12 83%
Montreal French	5/52 10%		52/222 23%	6/17 35%	

Table 5. Proportion of feminine gender assigned to English loanwords as a function of phonological shape of word ending. (From Table 3.)

This confirms that, contrary to Barkin's claims, phonological integration affects the choice of masculine or feminine rather than the use of the category of gender *per se*.

7.1.4 Suffixal Analogy and Homophony

Correspondences at either the suffixal level (especially in the French case, e.g. *company* ∿ *partie*), or involving the entire word (especially in the Spanish case, e.g. *question* ∿ *cuestión*), appear to have some effect in causing the borrowed noun to take on the gender of its homophone or suffixal translate. These effects, however, involve largely the same words in which the phonological effect due to the word ending plays a role.

7.2 Independence of Factor Effects

The above statistical results for phonologically and analogically determined gender could have resulted from two types of configurations of data. If the phonological and analogical effects are independent, they may simultaneously play a role in gender determination, either contradictory, or in the same direction. However, if one factor, say the phonological, completely or strongly outweighs the other, i.e. the analogical, then the contexts in which the analogical factor is observed to have an effect must be those in which there is no contradictory phonological effect. Considering the effect of feminine analogical gender in the presence and absence of masculine phonological gender (Table 6) shows that the first hypothesis, that of independent effects, is the correct one.

Analogically feminine, Not phonologically masculine.	$\frac{14}{17}$	30% feminine
Analogically feminine, Phonologically masculine.	$\frac{17}{94}$	18% feminine
Analogically and phonologically masculine.	$\frac{7}{213}$	3% feminine

Table 6. Independent effects of analogy and phonology in determining gender assignment (tokens with physiological gender removed).

When no contradictory phonological effect is present, 30% of analogically feminine nouns take the feminine gender. When these nouns have masculine-type endings, only 18% have feminine gender. When the analogical effect and the word ending are masculine, the proportion of feminine gender falls further, to 3%. This shows that neither factor completely outweighs the other.[16]

The calculations in Tables 3-6 were performed excluding all nouns having a corresponding physiological gender. Because this factor has a virtually categorical effect, the other factors may only express their effects when physiological gender is absent.

The reliability of our quantitative results is confirmed through comparison of the two independent Spanish samples. Aside from statistical fluctuations due to small numbers for certain factors, the results from the child data closely parallel those of the adults (Tables 2 and 3). Again, it is the agreement between the two data sets, even on the subtle distribution of the different factors, which is most striking. Indeed, differentiation among the children was so limited and idiosyncratic that it could not be ascribed to participation in bilingual programs or any other extra-linguistic factors. There is thus no evidence of weakening of gender assignment patterns among the younger generation.

8. The "Unmarked" Tendency

It has often been suggested that loanwords tend to adopt the unmarked gender of the language into which they are borrowed. At first glance, this explanation would seem to be apt for both our Spanish and French data, which show a predominance of masculine types: 87% (Spanish) and 78% (French).

The closer examination in Table 6, however, reveals that this principle may be of limited explanatory value, especially in the case of the Spanish data.

First, markedness appears to be most often associated in the literature on gender assignment with the relative frequency of the two genders (e.g. Haugen 1969). However, there is no overwhelming predominance of masculine nouns in either French or Spanish. Indeed, in running text, the ratio of masculine to feminine tokens is only about 55:45 in both languages (cf. Navarro 1968 for Spanish; Sankoff 1978 for Montreal French). In the French dictionary, according to Tucker et al. (1977), there is a higher proportion of masculine types, but it is not clear whether the addition of rare or unused nouns from the dictionary should be considered on the same footing with commonly used nouns in the assessment of markedness. (The argument for deciding markedness on the basis of gender assigned to rare or borrowed nouns would be circular in the present context.)

Second, in the Spanish corpus, many of the borrowed nouns end in consonants and few in *-a* (or other specifically feminine endings). This in itself could well account for most of the masculine/feminine disproportion in gender assignment. The remainder could easily be accounted for by the greater relative proportions of physiologically and analogically masculine forms in the corpus. These latter facts themselves need explanation--why should the proportion of analogically masculine borrowed nouns exceed the overall rate of masculine tokens in Spanish running text? Nonetheless, there is no clear evidence in these data that there is some underlying tendency independent of the shape and the meaning of the word for borrowed nouns to take on masculine gender. Indeed, when the other effects are factored out through the statistical analysis (Table 7), it will be seen

	SPANISH (TOKENS)[a]	SPANISH (TYPES)[b]	LOANS	CLASSIFIABLE ENDINGS	IDENTIFIABLE ANALOGY	FRENCH (TYPES)[c]	MONTREAL FRENCH (TOKENS)[d]	LOANS	CLASSI-FIABLE ENDINGS	IDENTI-FIABLE ANALOGY
F	45%	47%	13%	5%	39%	36%	44%	22%	25%	38%
M	55%	53%	87%	95%	61%	64%	56%	78%	75%	62%
TOTAL			474	328	400			291	69	172

Table 7. Gender assignment in host language nouns versus borrowed nouns.

[a] Data taken from Navarro Tomás 1968.
[b] Data taken from Bull 1965.
[c] Data taken from Tucker et al. 1977.
[d] Data taken from Sankoff 1978.

that there is a slight overall trend toward the favoring of *feminine* gender (corrected mean = .597), when all factors are held constant.

The French data show a different pattern. Even though the masculine/feminine gender assignment ratio is less here (78:22) than among nouns borrowed into Spanish (87:13), in French it cannot be explained in terms of disproportion of phonologically and analogically masculine borrowed nouns. Less than a quarter of the nouns could be defined as phonologically requiring a specific gender, and though more than half could be coded for analogical gender, the ratio of masculine to feminine codes is much less (62:38), than the actual disproportion in gender assignment. Furthermore, as we shall see, the statistical factoring out of the various effects on gender assignment (Table 9), leaves us with a distinct tendency to favor masculine over feminine (at .730), a tendency already noted by Haden and Joliat (1940).

What is particularly interesting here is that in the French of France, at least as exemplified by Tucker and associates (1977), and Haden and Joliat (1940), the assignment of gender to borrowed nouns, except those with feminine endings, is almost categorically masculine, whereas in the Montreal French corpus, a significant proportion is feminine. This is in line with a number of other impressions that Quebec French shows a greater predilection for assigning feminine gender to nouns than Metropolitan French. Various France/Quebec contrasts such as *le job/la job* or *le gang/la gang* are another line of evidence. Still another is the tendency documented by Barbaud (1979) for vowel-initial nouns, which are less distinctively identified as to gender because of the contraction of the distinguishing vowel of the determiner, to take on a feminine gender.[17]

9. Multivariate Analysis of Contribution of Factors to Gender Assignment

The results of a variable rule analysis (Sankoff 1979) of the contribution to gender assignment of all of the factors discussed in section 8 combined, basically confirm the percentages in Table 3.

Corrected Mean: .597

PHYSIOLOGICAL GENDER		PHONOLOGICAL GENDER		ANALOGICAL GENDER	
M	0 [Knockout]	M int.	.13	M	.31
Ø	.15	M unint.	.26	Ø	.43
F	.85	Ø unint.	.27	F	.75
		Ø int.	.41		
		F unint.	.72		
		F int.	.97		

Table 8. Contribution of factors selected as significant to the assignment of feminine gender to borrowed nouns in Puerto Rican Spanish. Factors not selected: homophony, suffixal analogy. Factor effects vary between 0 and 1, with figures higher than .50 favoring rule application, and figures lower than .50 inhibiting rule application. The figure .50 itself has no effect on the rule.

Corrected Mean: .270

PHYSIOLOGICAL GENDER		ANALOGICAL GENDER		SUFFIXAL ANALOGY	
M	0 [Knockout]	Ø	.30	M	.12
F	1 [Knockout]	M	.48	Ø	.45
		F	.72	F	.90

Table 9. Contribution of factors selected as significant to the assignment of feminine gender to borrowed nouns in Montreal French. Factors not selected: homophony, phonological gender.

We see from Tables 8 and 9 that physiological gender is indeed an overriding factor in determining gender in both Puerto Rican Spanish and Montreal French. This is a knockout factor: no words with male referents were assigned feminine gender and vice-versa. The .85 contribution of female sex to the choice of feminine gender in Puerto Rican Spanish is due to the two exceptions mentioned in footnote 15. We must recall, however, that physiological gender only pertains to less than 10% of the words in both corpora. Analogical gender also has a rather large and pervasive effect, in the expected direction.

The major difference in the two corpora resides in the role of the phonological shape of the word, which contributes a strong effect to gender assignment in Puerto Rican Spanish, an effect which, as mentioned before, increases as a function of the phonological integration of the loanword. Thus, the form ['kwɔra] contributes more to choice of feminine gender than ['kwɔᵊdr̩] 'quarter'. This is precisely what we might have expected given the well-defined rules for gender assignment obtaining in monolingual Spanish. As gender assignment in French, on the other hand, is in comparison only minimally determined by the phonological shape of the word, there is no reason to expect this factor to take on greater importance in assigning gender to borrowed material. Moreover, less than one fourth of the nouns borrowed into Montreal French resembled French words, whereas 70% of those borrowed into Puerto Rican Spanish were made to resemble Spanish forms. This partly explains why phonological shape was not identified by the analysis as a significant factor in gender assignment in Montreal French.

The rest of the reason is that suffixal analogy, where equivalence can be established, *was* selected as significant by the statistical analysis. This factor is largely correlated with phonological shape, and thus, when one is selected, it precludes the other. Had phonological shape been selected, it would have had a similar but smaller effect than in Spanish.

Homophony, which does not pertain to more than 11% of the cases in either corpus, was not a significant factor in either language.

These results only partially confirm the conclusions of previous studies of gender assignment to borrowed nouns in these languages: Zamora (1975) found that physiological and phonological gender predominated in Puerto Rican Spanish, while Haden and Joliat (1940) cited as operative in Canadian French all the factors we have mentioned here, though none of these authors considered that more than one factor could have been operating simultaneously.

10. Discussion

We have examined all of the factors cited in the literature as important in gender assignment. In contrast with the prevalent approach, i.e. the explanation of gender assignment in terms of one categorical factor (e.g. physiological gender), and the successive explanation of all the exceptions by invoking a series of other categorical factors, we have treated all the factors simultaneously, since presumably all are at play at the time of introduction of a given borrowing, particularly in cases of conflict. We have shown that some of the factors cited in the literature do indeed contribute strong effects to gender assignment, while others, like homophony and suffixal analogy, are negligible, except possibly in certain closely-related pairs of languages. But in no case but the most straightforward one, that of physiological referent, do they approach being categorical. Indeed, by comparing Puerto Rican Spanish and Montreal French we have shown that the factors governing gender assignment are language-specific: they follow from the particularities of the host language. Thus we saw that phonological shape is more important in determining the gender of borrowed nouns in Puerto Rican Spanish than in Montreal French, reflecting monolingual patterns.

However, none of the linguistic factors mentioned, except in the relatively rare case of physiological referent, completely determines gender assignment beyond the proportions mentioned--this process is variable. But there is one other crucial factor which we have not yet discussed: the speech community. Once a borrowed noun is assigned a gender by *whatever* criteria, there is generally unanimous agreement among speakers.[18] Thus we hear *le job, le gang, une interview* in Paris, but *la job, la gang, un interview* in Montreal; *la hamburguesa* in Madrid, *el hambérguer* in New York. Disagreement among speakers about recurring nouns, aside from physiologically determined ones (e.g. MF *le/la chum, le/la snob*, PRS *el shorty/la shorta*) did not exceed 4% for either data set.

This brings us to several other points illustrated by these findings. As mentioned above, Beardsmore (1971) has suggested, though not shown, that "some bilingual speakers [presumably those who are less acculturated] may show indifference as to what gender they opt for, others will show variations due to an incomplete assimilation of lexical items, and still others will show variations because of more subtle factors like a systematisation based on criteria holding good for one or the other or both of the languages in contact" (p. 142). By including in our study speakers of varying bilingual abilities--from functional monolinguals in the host language to balanced bilinguals, and from five-year-olds who have not yet completed the acquisition process in either language, to adults--we have demonstrated that such "variations" are practically non-existent among both Montreal French and Puerto Rican Spanish speakers. The few cases of vacillation among recurring nouns were rarely on well-established borrowings. This indicates the strong role of the speech community in establishing norms for bilingual as well as monolingual linguistic behavior. This factor outweighs that of bilingual ability, since non-fluent bilinguals are not significantly distinct from balanced bilinguals, and that of educational attainment, despite Arndt's claims that the study of less-educated informants would have resulted in more randomly made and unexplained gender decisions (1970:249). In fact, according to the findings in this study, criteria for gender assignment decisions have been largely internalized by children by the time they reach the first grade, and do not differ significantly thereafter, regardless of formal instruction in Spanish.

Indeed, we have demonstrated an overwhelming regularity in gender assignment among all members of both samples by showing that well-defined criteria applying to native nouns also apply rigorously to borrowed material: words of English origin take on specific native grammatical functions. In virtually every case where the host language syntax requires the presence of a gender carrier, the borrowed noun is so accompanied, whether integrated into host language phonological and morphological patterns or not. Where assignment criteria depending on phonological segment are operative, these apply consistently, even for words which show two alternative paths of phonological integration (e.g. PRS *el suéter* ∿ *la suera* 'sweater'; *el hambérguer* ∿ *la hamberga* 'hamburger').

Thus it is clear that nouns borrowed from English, rather than disrupting the host inflectional and gender systems, are subject to the same processes and constraints as the rest of the lexicon.

Notes

[1] The work reported in this chapter has already been published elsewhere. It first appeared as Working Paper 6, Language Policy Task Force, Center for Puerto Rican Studies, under the title of "A comparative study of gender assignment to borrowed nouns." It can also be found under the title of "Competing influences on gender assignment: Variable process, stable outcome," Lingua 57 (1982), 1-28.

[2] The past participle of French verbs conjugated with *être* agrees in gender with the subject of the verb; when conjugated with *avoir* it agrees with the preceding direct object. The past participle of reflexive verbs agrees with the subject unelss a preceding direct object is present, in which case it agrees with the latter. In Spanish, past participles in passive constructions with *ser* agree in gender with the subject of the verb.

[3] Those borrowed words which do appear in community publications such as posters, flyers, pamphlets and local newspapers, are almost without exception forms which have been socially integrated into the community repertoire, and hence most likely to be phonologically and morphologically integrated into Spanish patterns (more on this in Chapter 7). As we will see below, such linguistically integrated forms tend to take on the gender of native words of the same shape.

[4] The large percentage of gender vacillation (14%) reported in Haugen (1969) is undoubtedly due to the inclusion of several speech communities in the sample, a phenomenon analogous to what we describe in section 10 for Metropolitan and Montreal French.

[5] We designate as "vernacular" speech recorded in the absence of the interviewer.

[6] Because the French data were extracted from a computerized concordance of one million words rather than from the tape-recorded data, the context did not always allow us to distinguish whether synonymous nouns which are orthographically the same in French and English (e.g. *cone*, *drainage*) were borrowed or not. All instances such as these were therefore excluded from the analysis.

[7] The most obvious ones being, of course, that French Canadians constitute an overwhelming majority in the province of Quebec, with

representation in all social and economic sectors, and that French is the official language of that province. Puerto Ricans in New York, in contrast, are concentrated in the lower socio-economic sectors, and Spanish remains a minority language wherever it is spoken in the United States, regardless of the proportion its speakers represent in any given location.

[8] Numbers in parentheses are speaker identification codes.

[9] These may very well have been borrowed independently into Montreal French.

[10] Sergio Valente brand blue jeans.

[11] In these cases we counted types, not tokens, so as not to skew the data towards one gender through inclusion of a few frequently recurring types. However, any occurrence of a word which could be coded differently from other occurrences for any of the factors described in section 3, including actual gender assigned, was coded as a separate type.

[12] In fact, gender assignment is only one of many ways of distinguishing loanwords from momentarily borrowed material (see Chapter 7 on the integration of loanwords).

[13] We use the term 'rule' here in the sense of generalizations from actual frequency. In fact, the overwhelming majority of these rules accurately predict the gender assignment to 95% or more of the Spanish nouns in the dictionary subsumed under each (Bull 1965: 109). As we will see below, these same rules are also used to predict gender assignment to borrowed nouns.

[14] We follow the indications in Tucker et al. (1977) that beginnings of words provide no information concerning gender and are apparently not used as gender clues by native speakers of French.

[15] The figure of 88% assignment of feminine gender to nouns with physiologically female referents in the Puerto Rican data base is due to two exceptions: *el cow*, which may not have been seen by the child who uttered it as referring to a female being, and *el lesbian*, which is phonologically masculine.

[16] We could not study the opposite effect because there was only one noun with a feminine ending and masculine analogy (*el tena*).

[17] It is unclear how this tendency affects borrowed nouns. Only 18 nouns in our corpus began with a vowel, of which two were assigned feminine gender.

[18] Some instances of vacillation in gender assignment to native words have been noted by Poplack (1979) among Puerto Rican speakers in Philadelphia, and by Tucker et al. (1977) and Barbaud (1979) among French speakers in Canada. We have also noted additional examples of such vacillation in the speech of the East Harlem children and adults who constitute the present sample. Although there is no indication of the frequency of vacillation among native French nouns, we can roughly estimate (for the combined Philadelphia and East Harlem Spanish corpora) such vacillations to represent at most .1% of all gender assignments to native nouns.

In part because of the paucity of examples, examination of these data has not yet revealed any clear-cut patterning explicable in terms of physiological referent, phonological shape or distance of the gender carrier from the noun. We can point out, however, that approximately 20% of the vacillations in gender assignments to native Spanish nouns occur when the phonological shape of the word would require the opposite gender from the one it actually takes in standard Spanish (e.g. *el problema* 'the problem'). We also note that 66% of the vacillations went in the direction of masculine assignment to feminine nouns, a much lesser proportion than that noted for the assignment of masculine to borrowed nouns, and relatively closer to the rate of masculine nouns in running text. These remarks tie in with our observations (section 8) concerning the nature of the unmarked tendency in gender assignment.

References

Alcina Franch, J. and J.M. Blecua. 1975. *Gramática Española*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel:512-530.

Arndt, W.W. 1970. Nonrandom assignment of loanwords: German noun gender. *Word* 26.2:244-253.

Barbaud, P. 1979. L'usage du genre en français du Canada. ms.

Barkin, F. 1980. The role of loanword assimilation in gender assigassignment. To appear in *The Bilingual Review*.

Beardsmore, H. 1971. A gender problem in a language contact situation. *Lingua* 27:141-159.

Bull, W. 1965. *Spanish for teachers: applied linguistics*. New York: The Ronald Press Co.

Correa-Zoli, Y. 1973. Assignment of gender in American-Italian. *Glossa* 7.2:123-128.

Ervin-Tripp, S. 1973. The connotations of gender. in Dil, A. (ed.). *Language acquisition and communicative choice: Essays by Susan Ervin-Tripp*. Stanford: Stanford University Press:156-172.

Fodor, I. 1959. The origin of grammatical gender. *Lingua* 8.2:1-41, 186-214.

Grammaire de L'Académie Française. 1932. Paris: Firmin-Didot:18-20.

Haden, E. and E. Joliat. 1940. Le genre grammatical des substantifs en Franco-Canadien empruntés à l'anglais. *PMLA* LV:839-854.

Haugen, E. 1969. *The Norwegian language in America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Holt, M. and J. Dueber. 1973. *1001 pitfalls in Spanish*. Woodbury: Barron's Educational Series, Inc.

Ibrahim, M. 1973. *Grammatical gender: its origin and development*. The Hague: Mouton.

Lang, A. 1976. The semantic base of gender in German. *Lingua* 40: 55-68.

Language Policy Task Force. 1980. Social dimensions of language use in East Harlem. Working Paper #7. New York: Center for Puerto Rican Studies, CUNY.

Navarro Tomás, T. 1968. Studies in Spanish phonology. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press.

Pedraza, P. ms. Ethnographic observations of language use in El Barrio.

Poplack, S. 1978. Syntactic structure and social function of code-switching. in Durán, R. (ed.). Latino discourse and communicative behavior. Ablex Publishing Corp. (in press).

__________. 1979b. Function and process in a variable phonology. University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. dissertation.

__________. 1980a. "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL": Toward a typology of code-switching. Linguistics 18:581-618.

__________. 1980b. Variable concord in sentential plural marking. Working Paper #6. New York: Center for Puerto Rican Studies, CUNY. (to appear in the Hispanic Review).

Pousada, A. and S. Poplack. 1979. No case for convergence: the Puerto Rican Spanish verb system in a language contact situation. to appear in Fishman, J. and G. Keller (eds.). Bilingual education for Hispanics in the United States. New York: Teachers College Press.

Reed, C. 1942. The gender of English loanwords in Pennsylvania German. American Speech XVII:25-29.

Sankoff, D. 1978. Frequency dictionary of Montreal French. Unpublished document.

__________. 1979. VARBRUL 2S. Unpublished program and documentation.

__________ and G. Sankoff. 1973. Sample survey methods and computer-assisted analysis in the study of grammatical variation. in Darnell, R. (ed.). Canadian languages in their social context. Edmonton: Linguistic Research Inc.:7-64.

__________, G. Sankoff, S. Laberge and M. Topham. 1976. Méthodes d'échantillonage et utilisation de l'ordinateur dans l'étude de la variation grammaticale. Cahiers de linguistique de l'Université du Québec 6. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec:85-125.

__________, R. Lessard and T. Nguyen Ba. 1978. Computational linguistics in the analysis of the Montreal French corpus. Computers and the Humanities 11:185-191.

__________ and S. Poplack. 1980. A formal grammar for code-switching. Working Paper #8. New York: Center for Puerto Rican Studies, CUNY. Papers in Linguistics 14:2.

Socarras, C. 1975. Gramática de la lengua española. New York: Las Americas Publishing Co.

Tucker, G., W. Lambert and A. Rigault. 1977. The French speaker's skill with grammatical gender: an example of rule-governed behavior. The Hague: Mouton.

Weinreich, U. 1968. Languages in contact. The Hague: Mouton.

Zamora, J. 1975. Morfología bilíngüe: la asignación de género a los préstamos. The Bilingual Review 2.3:239-247.

CHAPTER SEVEN -- LOANWORD INTEGRATION

1.0 Introduction

The lexical stock of languages may contain a considerable proportion of words borrowed from one or more other languages. The historical record, together with methods of historical and comparative linguistics, can help us infer which words were borrowed, from what language, and approximately when. On the synchronic level, however, making such inferences can be more difficult. Though loanwords may enter a language through learned or literary channels, or through the influence of the mass media, the most intensive borrowing activity often occurs during oral interaction in one or another type of language-contact situation.

Most reports of borrowing at the community level consist largely of lists of putative loanwords (e.g. Alfaro 1964, Nash 1970, del Rosario 1970, Bowen 1975). This taxonomic approach is misleading, however, by listing only loan items and omitting the overwhelming majority of forms which are never borrowed. Furthermore, it fails to distinguish between forms which may be isolated, momentary borrowings (indistinguishable from code-switching) and others which have become fully integrated into the linguistic norms of the (bilingual or monolingual) community.

A survey of less superficial studies indicates that borrowing involves many complex and poorly understood processes (e.g. Weinreich 1953, Haugen 1950a, 1950b; Hasselmo 1969, Mackey 1970). Several features of borrowing remain to be explored, including linguistic, sociological, and developmental questions. Moreover, there are subtle methodological dilemmas involved in detecting, defining, identifying and characterizing loanwords. One of the motivations of the work described here is the synchronic examination of the mechanics of borrowing, and in particular, the processes by which words are incorporated into the lexicon of the recipient language. Another is to develop criteria for deciding when insertion into one code of items from another should be considered a bona-fide loanword, when it represents an instance of code-switching, and when we may be justified in speaking of "interference".

We first review the pertinent literature, focusing on three aspects of the borrowing process: the linguistic mechanisms involved, the social dynamics, and the definitional and analytical problems in studying lexical transfer. We will abstract from this work a number of concepts and hypotheses which have been developed to describe and account for the importation of forms from one language to another. We will then proceed to operationalize these concepts on the basis of a corpus of potential loanwords collected from children and their parents.

2.0 Previous Work

2.1 The linguistic dimensions of borrowing

The assimilation, or integration, of borrowed material has long interested scholars, who have sought to ascertain, through the analysis of such phenomena, effects of new material on the phonological, morphological and syntactic systems of the recipient language (e.g. Bloomfield 1933, Fries and Pike 1949, Weinreich 1953). This study presents many problems, a fact which is reflected in the various theories and approaches advanced in the literature.

Most authors have implicitly assumed that adaptation of foreign items at any linguistic level to the patterns of the recipient language (for example, through incorporation of verbal and nominal affixes, or assignment of a gender) were indications that forms had been integrated into that language (e.g. Haugen 1950a: 396, 440, also implicit in Bloomfield 1933: 450, 453).

Bowen (1975) uses phonemic and syllabic criteria in studying the adaptation of borrowed forms. He distinguishes six types of adaptation (including no adaptation), but these types are not mutually exclusive, and some of the same words appear with changes which adapt them to patterns in other lists.

Fries and Pike (1949: 39) incorporate phonological, grammatical, and social criteria in their assumption that a loan sequence of phonemes can be considered completely assimilated when (a) it parallels the sequences occuring in native materials, or is analogous to them; (b) its occurrence in relation to grammatical boundaries is the same as sequences in native words; (c) the words containing it are in common use by monolinguals; or (d) it serves as a pattern for the development of new sequences in the native pattern.

The extralinguistic aspects of borrowing are just as complex as the linguistic ones. As Bloomfield (1933: 450) has pointed out: "At all stages the assimilation of foreign words presents many problems... We probably have to reckon here with highly variable factors, including adaptations based on habits of individual speakers." Weinreich (1953: 26) also suggests that the choice between integrating borrowed material or not is probably governed by individual and sociocultural factors not unlike those which regulate the borrowing process in the first place.

We will now review the approaches to some of these extralinguistic aspects of borrowing.

2.2 The social dimensions of borrowing

Studies of languages in contact have focused on two basically sociological or sociolinguistic distinctions in considering the incorporation of borrowed material into the linguistic repertoire of the speech community. One is the differential role of monolinguals versus bilinguals of varying degrees of competence as carriers of innovations; the other involves the changing shape of loanwords across successive generations of speakers.

A common view is that bilinguals tend to use loanwords before monolinguals, who learn them from the former. Bilingual speakers are also thought to assimilate new sounds sooner than their monolingual counterparts (Fries and Pike 1949: 39). Haugen distinguishes between monolinguals and those who became bilingual as adults on the one hand and childhood bilinguals on the other. Observing that borrowed items tend to retain an uncertain linguistic status for some time after their first adoption (1956: 55), he attributes part of this vacillation to the awareness on the part of the bilingual of the origin of the borrowed word, and presumably to his indecision as to whether to produce it according to the rules of recipient or donor language. In addition, both monolinguals and non-fluent ("adult") bilinguals make phonic adaptations (or "distortions") of loanwords, while fluent ("childhood") bilinguals reproduce the patterns of the donor language (Haugen 1950a, 1956). These individual differences in ability and desire are presumably responsible for the alternative forms of loans reported by Haugen. He posits three stages of loanword integration: (1) "pre-bilingual", when forms are reproduced according to recipient language patterns with great irregularity in the results, (2) "adult" bilingualism", at which point the loans are produced more systematically, and (3) "childhood bilingualism" during which sound types (and presumably other patterns) from the donor language are introduced into the recipient language (1969: 394). Indeed, according to this schema, childhood bilinguals or younger speakers are the speakers responsible for introducing new patterns into the recipient language.

Regardless of the identity of the first users of loanwords and the nature of the mechanism of lexical spread through time and throughout the community, an important diagnostic for the incorporation of a form into the native lexicon is the increased frequency of its usage. Even the degree to which the loanword is assimilated has been attributed to the frequency of its use within the community (Kreidler 1957, Holden 1976). It has been suggested that "most loanwords which show even a minimal degree of acceptance by the target language immediately assume a phonetic shape which is identical to that of the native vocabulary" (Holden 1976: 131).

Independent of these hypotheses correlating frequency of use with morphophonological adaptation, frequency in itself has been considered a criterion of integration. Hasselmo suggests, for Swedish-English bilinguals, that "some of the English discourse units introduced into Swedish discourse are used with such regularity that it may be necessary to regard them as in some sense *integrated* with an American Swedish mode of speaking" (1970: 179). More specifically "if certain instances of interference are repeated often enough in discourse in a certain language to be regarded as habitualized, the forms and/or patterns involved can be referred to as (socially) integrated with the language of the community" (1970: 179). There is no necessary indication in the occurrence of a given element in discourse of whether it represents a case of interference or a case of integration (see Mackey 1970:204).

2.3 Analytical distinctions

At first glance it might seem to be an easy matter to detect material borrowed from one language in the discourse of the other, merely by comparison with the standard variety of the recipient language, or with communities not in contact with the donor language. This type of external comparison is, however, quite inadequate. The co-occurrence of forms from two languages may be due to a number of processes other than borrowing, most important of which are code-switching, and incomplete second language acquisition by native speakers of another. Code-switching is simply the alternate use of the two languages in discourse, and even in a sentence, without any necessary influence of one language on those stretches of discourse realized in the other. Partial acquisition of a second language may lead to the use of first language items in intended second language discourse, but on an idiosyncratic basis. They may be considered borrowings at the level of the individual speaker, but not at the level of the speech community. As Haugen (1969:371) has pointed out, innovations made by language learners do not spread to native speakers of the language they learn; it is the innovations they make in their own language which spread.

In order to study the process of borrowing as well as its effects on the systems of the host language, then, linguists have been motivated to devise criteria for distinguishing bonafide loanwords (or integrated material, in the terminology of Haugen (1956), Hasselmo (1970), Mackey (1970), Murphy (1974), Shaffer (1978) and others) from code-switches, and momentary or idiosyncratic uses of first language terms to fill gaps in intended second language competence. The latter behavior, along with others, has generally been subsumed under the label popularized by Weinreich (1953), "interference", and occupies some nebulous area in between the other two extremes.

In Haugen's (1956) schema these phenomena are located along a continuum of code distinctiveness with switching representing maximal distinctness, integration representing maximal levelling of distinctions, and interference referring to an overlapping of two codes, contrary to contemporary norms. In determining whether adaptation had occurred or not (i.e. whether integration or switching was involved), Haugen suggested that the phonological and morphological shape of the borrowed form were the determining factors. However, since the bilingual ability of the speaker determines the pronunciation of the second language (Poplack 1980), this criterion will misidentify code-switches as loanwords.

Shaffer (1978) claims that adaptation is more accurately measured by syntactic considerations for three reasons:

1) switch boundaries correspond to phrase-structure boundaries,
2) the language of the entire phrase corresponds to that of the head word, and
3) phonology is not a totally consistent guide to identifying code-switching (p. 268).

The primacy of syntactic criteria in the classification of loanwords, however, is dubious, since the first two arguments have been proved erroneous by empirical work (Poplack 1980, Sankoff and Poplack 1981).

Hasselmo observes that although the intention of the speaker may be a binary choice between switching and integration, the stretches of speech actually produced are often ambiguous. Since code-switching is not identifiable on the basis of phonological and/or morphological features alone, the occurrence of a borrowed item that shows a high degree of social integration (i.e. acceptance and use by community members) could be interpreted as an instance of integration, while one that shows a low degree of social integration would be an instance of code-switching (1970: 180). In a similar vein, Mackey (1970: 211) suggests that the more an item is integrated (used), the less likely that its appearance is a case of interference.

3.0 An operational framework

We may abstract from the previous considerations four basic types of criteria for the characterization of loanwords:

1) Frequency of use. By this measure, as used by Fries and Pike, Hasselmo, Mackey, and Murphy, the more frequently a specific donor language item is used in recipient language discourse and by more people, the more reasonable it is to consider it as having become a bona fide term of the recipient language.

2) Synonym displacement, as measured by the translatability test used by Hasselmo, Mackey's availability test, and implicit in Weinreich's discussion of lexical integration. If a borrowed term can be shown to displace in usage an indigenous term for the same concept, it can be considered to have taken over the latter's role in the lexicon.

3) Integration. If a borrowed term takes on a phonological shape typical of the recipient language, acquires the morphological affixes appropriate to that language, and functions in sentences as a native word of some syntactic category, then it can be considered a well-established borrowing. This approach is embodied in the work of Fries and Pike, Bloomfield, Weinreich, Haugen, and others.

4) Acceptability. If native speakers judge a donor language word to be acceptable for some purpose, whether or not they are aware of its origins, this is indicative that it may occupy a place in the recipient lexicon.

However, not all of these criteria for loanwords will be satisfied in all cases. Moreover, each of the criteria may be satisfied by words which are not loans. For example, a word from one language may be used frequently in discourse which is predominantly of another language, but only because it occurs often in code-switches (e.g. the determiner *the* occurs frequently in switched noun phrases). A borrowed word may be phonologically, morphologically,and syntactically integrated into the recipient language but only because the speaker has little competence in the donor language or simply because of interlingual coincidence between donor and recipient codes. Acceptability is notoriously misleading, especially in contexts where the recipient language is socially inferior to the donor, but even in cases where the former is not stigmatized. Hasselmo documents for Swedish-English bilingualism cases where items identified as English showed low translatability, but high acceptability (1969: 71), results which are difficult to interpret in terms of integration into the linguistic repertoire, short of arbitrarily assigning supremacy to one of the measures involved. Similar difficulties were encountered in a later replication of this study among Chicano bilinguals by Murphy (1974), leading him to suggest that not only these tasks but also the very attempt to get bilinguals to establish language boundaries are inappropriate (pp. 63-64). Synonym displacement may be a solid criterion, but only when a single borrowed word is displacing a single well-identified native word, a situation which is not necessarily the rule, and which is very difficult to demonstrate.

Most of these criteria are based on anecdotal evidence, albeit on the part of observant and highly insightful scholars, and remain empirically unsubstantiated. For example, the proposed correlation between frequency of use and degree of assimilation, or between degree of acceptability and phonetic assimilation, both quantitative hypotheses, have never been quantitatively tested. The role of bilingual versus monolingual, or older versus younger speakers in introducing and propagating loanwords, has never been empirically investigated or established. Parenthetical comments on the vacillations which mark the incorporation of transferred words into the vocabulary cannot capture the orderly heterogeneity which has been documented for all aspects of speech behavior at the community level. Conversely, the empirical studies which do exist, largely of acceptability and availability, do not take into account the more strictly linguistic concomitants of loanword assimilation.

Nevertheless, the four types of criteria discussed above are useful in that they are abstracted from the key processes which make up the phenomenon of lexical borrowing. As a borrowed word is used more and more, it tends to become phonologically and morphologically integrated, to displace competing recipient language forms, and at least eventually, to be accepted by its native speakers.

In this paper, we will empirically investigate the mechanics of these processes of integration of borrowed material, and quantitatively characterize the relationships among them. In so doing we hope to contribute to the solution of the key methodological problem which has plagued the synchronic study of borrowing: though code-switching and borrowing are radically different processes, as explained above, it is often extremely difficult in analyzing discourse to distinguish occurrences of loanwords from instances of (single-word) code-switching.

It would seem most natural, in studying how words are used, to work with corpora of spontaneous bilingual discourse. As we shall see, however, this is fraught with difficulties. Thus our strategy was to elicit from the children and their parents their Spanish designations for a series of specific concepts which we knew from previous work in the community to be expressed at least occasionally by English words. This method of elicitation greatly reduces the possibility that the results might be "contaminated" by code-switched material, as compared with natural discourse.

Though responses to such a test can provide only indirect evidence for spontaneous speech phenomena, they can nevertheless be highly indicative of the borrowing processes which interest us. First, we can see which, if any, English word is most frequently elicited for a concept. A word's frequency should be roughly related to how likely it is to be used for that concept in discourse, although this relationship may not be simple, and could be mediated by other factors, such as acceptability. Since it may be difficult to elicit any very specific lexical item for certain concepts, it may be more appropriate to take into account the frequency with which *any* English word is elicited.

Another way of assessing the importance of English versus Spanish words for a concept would be to see which comes to mind first, i.e. which is offered first, if several responses are forthcoming.[1] The above measures not only pertain to the relative frequency of English versus Spanish terms for a concept, but they also indirectly indicate to what extent a term borrowed from English has displaced a Spanish synonym.

A more direct way of measuring this would be to count the number of speakers offering only English responses for a concept versus those who give both an English and a Spanish response.

Turning to the question of integration, careful examination of the elicited words can indicate degrees of phonological and morphological integration and, if there is a gender carrier, some indication of syntactic integration. It is known that pronunciation of a word in response to a formal elicitation instrument tends to depart from the vernacular, so some effort should be made not only to average the degree of phonological integration over speakers, but also to take account of the most integrated form of the word. With respect to gender, we would expect a well-integrated word to show consistent gender assignment across speakers. However, it could be that the very choice of whether or not to assign a gender to an originally English word is a reflection of its status as an integrated loanword, as has been suggested by Barkin (1980), and this too can be measured.

4.0 Data and methods

In the speech of bilinguals, items may be borrowed from another language momentarily and never be heard again, or they may be used with great regularity. The position of a borrowed element within a host language system, as Mackey rightly points out (1970: 201), is a matter of degree: it may be completely integrated, partially, or not integrated at all. In searching for a method to measure degree of integration, we first examined more than 65 hours of speech from 20 adult speakers recorded in a variety of naturalistic and more formal speech situations. We quickly found that even loanwords we had thought very common occurred quite infrequently across all speakers. This is because the occurrence of any lexical item depends largely on what the speaker is talking about, and even in a large corpus of free undirected speech, there is never any guarantee that any two speakers will be talking about the same thing.[2] An additional difficulty is that to measure frequency or degree, it is necessary to know not only the number of times an item occurred but also all the times it did not occur when it might have. With free speech data this would involve identifying all semantic equivalents of every borrowed word in a corpus far larger than our own, and ascertaining the proportion of those uttered in English and those in Spanish, a formidable undertaking beyond the scope of the present work.

Accordingly, we opted to elicit designations of semantic fields while holding the stimulus constant. An elicitation instrument was constructed containing a randomized series of photographs of 45 everyday items which we expected to be easily identifiable and able to be designated by a concrete noun (Table 1). The majority, though not all, of these photographs referred to items we had heard designated in English in otherwise Spanish contexts, either in our corpus of taped data or in our fieldwork experience. The actual frequency of mention, however, depended on the word.

Each informant was shown each picture and asked to name the object in Spanish: *¿Qué es esto?"* Respondents were encouraged to answer in a complete sentence (e.g. *es un rufo* 'It's a roof') to enable us to examine gender indications as well. After responding,

	Proportion (Eng. Tokens)	Proportion (Eng. Types)	Proportion (Bil. Responses)	Proportion (Eng.-Only Responses)	Proportion (Non-Sp. Responses)	Mean (Type Integration)	Mean (Token Integration)	Maximum (Token Integration)	Proportion (+Frequent Eng. Type) / Proportion (Eng. Tokens)	Proportion (+Frequent Eng. Type)	Proportion (Eng. 1st Choice)	Proportion (Eng. 1st Choice) / Proportion (Eng. Tokens)	Gender Consistency	Use-Weighted Consistency	Field Consistency	Total (Tokens)	Total (Multi-Response Speakers)	Total Types	Total (No Response)	Total (Failures)
"SWITCH"	.57	.33	.05	.55	.61	1.10	1.10	2.00	1.00	.57	.55	.90	1.00	.82	1.00	19	1	3	2	2
"FROG"	.33	.39	.15	.15	.31	0	0	0	.75	.25	.26	.62	1.00	.50	1.00	24	5	5	2	1
"ICE CREAM"	.67	.66	.18	.54	.72	.55	1.00	2.00	.95	.64	.72	.76	1.00	.10	1.00	31	9	3	0	0
"TURTLE"	.21	.66	0	.21	.21	1.30	1.00	2.00	.75	.15	.21	1.00	0	0	.33	19	0	3	3	0
"PIG"	.08	.19	.04	.04	.09	0	0	0	1.00	.08	.04	.50	1.00	.50	1.00	24	3	5	1	0
"COAT"	.69	.50	.31	.54	.86	.88	1.30	2.00	.73	.51	.72	.69	1.00	.88	1.00	33	11	4	0	0
"PUPPY"	.16	.50	.14	.04	.19	.50	.50	2.00	1.00	.16	.09	.50	1.00	.75	1.00	24	3	2	1	0
"HOT DOG"	.82	.75	.13	.77	.90	.63	1.50	2.00	.79	.65	.90	.79	1.00	.53	.66	29	6	4	0	1
"SHADE"	.73	.59	.11	.70	.82	.17	.42	2.00	.85	.63	.76	.92	.33	.17	.66	19	2	5	5	0
"SANDWICH"	.67	.50	.42	.52	.95	.58	1.10	2.00	.95	.64	.61	.61	1.00	.80	1.00	31	10	4	1	2
"SOFA"	.12	.39	.19	0	.19	2.00	2.00	2.00	.75	.09	.04	.25	1.00	1.00	1.00	32	12	5	1	1
"JEANS"	.41	.62	.44	.19	.64	.80	.30	2.00	.69	.29	.50	.76	1.00	.44	1.00	31	10	8	2	0
"BASEMENT"	.76	.33	.19	.69	.89	1.80	1.80	2.00	1.00	.76	.69	.69	1.00	.80	1.00	26	7	3	2	1
"TAPE"	1.00	1.00	0	1.00	1.00	1.10	1.10	2.00	.76	.76	1.00	.85	.90	.60	.87	21	3	2	0	4
"WATCH"	.04	.50	.05	0	.05	0	0	0	1.00	.04	0	0	1.00	1.00	1.00	20	1	2	3	0
"SUIT"	.67	.33	.14	.59	.75	1.00	1.10	2.00	.88	.59	.73	.82	1.00	1.00	1.00	25	6	6	2	3
"SWEATER"	.75	.25	.23	.66	.90	1.90	1.90	2.00	1.00	.75	.66	.63	.37	.32	.36	29	9	4	1	1
"BUILDING"	.62	.33	.38	.47	.85	1.40	1.40	2.00	1.00	.62	.69	.77	1.00	.72	1.00	29	11	3	1	4
"BABY"	.59	.16	.18	.59	.77	.70	.66	2.00	1.00	.59	.72	.88	1.00	.72	1.00	30	6	6	0	0
"ZIPPER"	.95	.50	0	.95	.95	1.30	1.30	2.00	1.00	.95	.95	.91	.88	.74	.89	24	4	2	0	2
"CAKE"	.29	.33	.19	.14	.34	1.10	1.10	2.00	1.00	.29	.36	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	24	5	3	2	1
"TAPE RECORDER"	.57	.66	.04	.54	.59	0	0	0	.91	.52	.59	1.00	1.00	.82	1.00	21	3	3	2	2
"BUTTERFLY"	.28	.50	0	.28	.28	.20	.16	1.00	1.00	.28	.28	1.00	.50	.33	.50	21	0	2	1	0
"TRUCK"	.80	.66	.14	.75	.89	1.60	1.50	2.00	.90	.73	.84	.80	1.00	.84	1.00	26	8	3	1	4
"LIPSTICK"	.66	.28	.09	.66	.76	1.10	.50	2.00	.87	.58	.66	.87	1.00	.64	1.00	24	3	7	0	1
"HAMBURGER"	.96	.75	.04	.95	1.00	.67	.75	2.00	.68	.66	.94	.65	.76	.65	.84	30	9	4	1	1
"MATTRESS"	.66	.59	.28	.57	.85	1.30	1.80	2.00	.88	.59	.85	1.00	.86	.81	.87	27	9	5	1	4
"TOILET"	.74	.19	.23	.71	.95	1.60	1.60	2.00	1.00	.74	.80	.84	1.00	.90	1.00	27	5	5	1	0
"DIME"	.54	.19	.05	.55	.61	1.60	1.60	2.00	1.00	.54	.55	.90	1.00	.91	1.00	20	7	5	1	8
"BAT"	.09	.50	0	.09	.09	0	0	0	1.00	.09	.09	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	22	1	2	0	1
"GARBAGE CAN"	.11	.33	.04	.09	.14	1.00	1.30	2.00	.66	.07	.09	.66	1.00	1.00	1.00	26	7	6	2	1
"SWIMMING POOL"	.59	.50	.09	.54	.63	.40	.39	2.00	1.00	.59	.59	.79	.83	.67	.83	25	4	2	0	2
"ROOF"	.70	.50	.19	.66	.85	.90	1.70	2.00	.94	.66	.68	.68	1.00	.89	1.00	27	8	4	1	4
"JACKET"	.83	.59	.09	.77	.86	1.50	1.20	2.00	.67	.56	.77	.67	1.00	.82	1.00	30	8	5	0	0
"PENNY"	.66	.33	.19	.59	.79	1.40	1.40	2.00	1.00	.66	.75	.93	.75	.75	.75	24	4	3	1	1
"NICKEL"	.40	.28	.10	.36	.47	1.90	1.80	2.00	.88	.36	.44	.88	1.00	1.00	1.00	22	3	7	3	1
"QUARTER"	.30	.50	.04	.23	.28	1.00	1.70	2.00	.85	.26	.29	.85	1.00	1.00	1.00	23	2	4	1	1
"BOBBY PIN"	.15	.33	.09	.09	.18	.50	.50	2.00	.50	.07	.13	.75	1.00	.50	1.00	25	2	6	0	0

Table 1. Indices of integration for 38 semantic fields.

informants were prompted as to whether they knew any additional words for the concept, in order to correct for memory limitations. These were noted as second and third choices.

This elicitation instrument was administered in Spanish to 14 of the 16 children and eight of their parents.[3] The resulting data are similar to those obtained from the availability tests used by Hasselmo and Mackey, with two exceptions:

(1) the particular stimulus here was held constant instead of just the general semantic domain, thus reducing the problem of semantic equivalence described above, and

(2) they yield much more information on both social and linguistic integration of English items.[4]

4.1 Indices of integration

Our data base, then, consisted of between 1 and 3 designations of the 45 concepts for each of the 22 speakers in the sample. A sampling of responses will illustrate:

a. "mattress" -- *matre, cama, bed, pillow, colcha, caucho (<couch), cober (<cover)*
b. "building" -- *bildin, apartamento, edificio, New Yersi, casa*
c. "hot dog" -- *franfura, hot dog, perro caliente, Oscar Meyer*
d. "bobby pin" -- *pinche, hebilla, bobby pin*
e. "toilet" -- *toile, toilet, servicio, inodoro, bowl, taza*

Utilizing the criteria considered in section 3, we defined the following three types of indices:

1) acceptability measures of integration --for each test item these indicate what proportion of the sample of speakers gives responses manifesting

the acceptance of English elements into their Spanish lexicon.

2) linguistic measures of integration - these indicate the average or maximal extent to which English loanwords (or candidates for that appelation) have taken on Spanish phonological, morphological, or syntactic form.

3) test controls - these indices are not intended as measures of loanword acceptance, integration, or assimilation into Spanish. They measure other parameters of the set of responses which, for technical reasons, could interfere with or exaggerate the social and linguistic measures in the previous two categories.

We will define the indices in the last set first, although they are intrinsically the least interesting, because some of them enter into the definitions of the indices in the other two sets.

Test Controls

a. Total(tokens) - the total number of words, counting all repetitions by different speakers and each token in multiple responses separately. When no response was offered, this was not counted as a token, neither were responses involving thoroughly unidentifiable words (e.g. *fluche* for "switch"), nor any obvious failure of the elicitation procedure in conveying the desired semantic field (e.g. *New Yersi* for "building", *retrato* 'picture' for "boy").

b. Total(no response).

c. Total(failures) - including unidentifiable responses and failure to elicit desired semantic field.

d. Total(types) - the total number of different forms elicited;

repetitions of the same form by several speakers were only counted as one type, even if this involved somewhat different phonology (e.g. *suera*, *suéter* "sweater") or different gender. Not counted were "no response", "failures".

e. Total(multi-response speakers) - the number of speakers who offered at least two different tokens, not including "failures".

Acceptability Measures

The indices in the second group are operationalizations of some of the ways discussed earlier of measuring the frequency of use and/or acceptability of loanwords for a specific concept, and for assessing the degree of synonym displacement.

a. Proportion(English tokens) - the proportion of the total number of tokens offered for a given semantic field which are identified as of English origin.

b. Proportion(English types) - the proportion of the types which are identified as of English origin.

c. Proportion(English-only responses) - the proportion of speakers giving one or more responses which are all of English origin.

d. Proportion(bilingual responses) - the proportion of speakers offering at least one English and one Spanish response.

e. Proportion(non-Spanish-only) - the sum of the proportion (English-only) and proportion (bilingual) responses.

f. Proportion(most common English type) - the proportion of the total tokens which consist of the most frequent English type.

g. Proportion(most common English type)/Proportion(English tokens), i.e. the proportion that the most common English type represents of all English responses.

h. Proportion(English first choice) - the proportion, over all speakers offering at least one response of those giving an English response first.

i. Proportion(English first choice)/Proportion(English tokens), i.e. the proportion of English tokens which are first choices.

The proportion of the most common English type, the proportion it represents of all English responses, and the proportion of English tokens which are first choices, indicate to what extent there is a single English word which is the preferred representation of the concept. The proportions of English tokens, types, and first choices are different ways of evaluating the importance of English words generally for the semantic field, in contrast to Spanish words. Contrasts between proportion of English-only, bilingual, and non-Spanish responses are indicative of the degree of synonym displacement and are also sensitive to overall rates of English and Spanish usage.

Linguistic Measures

The third group of indices measures the phonological and morpho-syntactic integration of English-origin words.

a. Mean(token integration) - the average value, over all English tokens, of the phonological integration code for the token (0 = unintegrated: e.g. [ays Kriym] "ice cream", 1 = partially integrated: [ąih Kriym], 2 = completely integrated: [a̭ih krĩŋ]).

b. Mean(type integration) - the average value, over all English types, of the average phonological integration for the tokens of each type. The mean integration is first calculated for each type separately, and then the average is taken of these type values.

c. Maximum(token integration) - the maximum integration of any English token.

d. Gender consistency - for the most frequent English type, the (absolute) difference between the number of tokens coded as feminine and those coded as masculine, divided by the total number of tokens coded for gender.

e. Use-weighted consistency - the absolute difference between the numbers of feminine and masculine tokens divided by the total number of tokens, whether or not assigned gender, for the most common English type.

f. Field consistency - over all English types coded for gender, the difference between the numbers of feminine and masculine tokens, divided by their sum.

Mean(token integration), Mean(type integration), and Maximum(token integration) are different ways of summarizing the phonological integration of the responses. Gender consistency is a measure of whether the most frequent loanword is assigned the same gender consistently. Use-weighted consistency measures both whether it is assigned gender regularly and whether the gender is consistent. Field consistency measures to what extent gender is consistent across all the loanwords elicited for the concept.

5.0 Results

5.1 Preliminary tabulations

Our method for choosing test items ensured the possibility of eliciting borrowed forms,but we had no way of knowing in advance whether they would be significant in number, or even whether the indices we defined would differentiate the items in any interesting way. In calculating the indices for the responses to each of the 45 stimuli, we discovered both that most of the stimuli elicited a good proportion of English-origin forms (not too surprising, given that we had selected them for that purpose) and that these manifested a great deal of variability in their assimilation into the recipient language lexicon. This indicates the diversity inherent in the integration process.

Of the 45, the average number of blanks and anomalous responses was less than 1.5 per stimulus. Seven of the concepts were designated in Spanish-only by all respondents and so were excluded from further calculations ("boy", "bicycle", "plate", "spoon", "window", "girl", and "plant").[5] The remaining 38 items were designated in English and Spanish to varying degrees. The results may be seen in Table 1 (section 4.0, p. 366a).

Table 1 shows that most of these stimuli (63%) were designated in English anywhere from half to all of the time. A number of concepts may be seen from these calculations not to have any commonly-used Spanish designation in this community--"tape" (100% English designations), "hamburger" (96%), "zipper" (95%), "jacket" (83%), "hot dog" (82%), "truck" (80%), "basement" (76%), and "sweater" (75%).[6]

For most concepts, very few speakers offered both Spanish and English designations. In fact, more than half of the speakers offered only English designations for 60% of the concepts.

Almost all of the designations offered in English were partially or completely integrated into Spanish phonological and/or morphological patterns. Designations for only five concepts remained totally unintegrated into Spanish for all speakers: *frog* (6 occurrences), *pig* (2), *Timex* (1), *tape recorder* (11), and *bat* (2).

For the large majority of concepts (84%), a single English designation accounts for between 75 and 100% of all English words offered for each item. In well over half the cases (63%), the particular favored English designation represented half or better of all tokens, both English and Spanish, a good indicator of loanword status. This despite the fact that a minimum of two types was offered per stimulus (undoubtedly due to the elicitation procedure, which prompted the informant for additional designations), and some received as many as eight, e.g. "jeans" (8), "nickel" (7), "lipstick" (7), "suit" (6), "garbage can" (6), "baby" (6), and "bobby pin" (5). This reflects either the present state of flux in lexical assignment to these concepts or the inherent lack of one-to-one word-meaning relationships in these semantic fields.

Almost 75% of the most common English designations assigned a Spanish gender showed 100% agreement in gender assignment. Some of the figures indicating less than perfect consistency obscure the fact that different lexical variants of a word may be assigned different genders, but within each variant there is total agreement. This is the case of *el hambérguer* and *la hamberga* 'hamburger'; *el suéter* and *la suera* 'sweater'. The single case of 0% gender agreement is due to sparse data; there is one token each of *el turtle* and *la térol*.

These tabulations of index values do not bear on the broader lexicon of the respondents, given the way the items were selected. They do, however, indicate that diverse segments of the lexicon affected by borrowing have indeed been sampled, ranging from items which are only very occasionally designated by English forms, to those which are categorically expressed in English. We are thus confident that the comparison of these responses will not exclude any key stage in the borrowing process, such as the early or final stages.

Though the actual value of each index may well be a function of its arbitrary definition and the particular choice of test item, nevertheless (and this is central to our study), it is possible to measure the co-variation among the indices in a way which factors out much of this arbitrariness. These measurements can then reveal genuine relationships among the different aspects of the borrowing process. Elucidation of this co-variation will be the task undertaken in the ensuing sections.

5.2 Relations among indices

Some of the indices defined above are obviously closely related. As Proportion(English tokens) increases, so very likely will Proportion (English-only responses). Whenever Mean(token integration) is greater than 100, Maximum(integration) will necessarily be 200. To assess these and other relationships systematically, we calculate correlations among all the indices as shown in Table 2.

Four clearly demarcated clusters of indices emerge from these calculations.

(i) The English use cluster

Proportion(English tokens), Proportion(English first choice), Proportion(English-only responses), Proportion(non-Spanish only), and Proportion(most common English type).

(ii) The integration cluster

Mean(token integration), Mean(type integration), Maximum (integration).

(iii) The gender consistency cluster

Gender consistency, Use-weighted consistency, Field consistency.

(iv) The multiple response cluster

Total(tokens), Total(multi-response speakers), Proportion (bilingual responses).

The correlations within each cluster are all over .65 and for the English-use cluster, over .90. However, all of these groupings are predictable to a greater or lesser extent, from the definition of their member indices.

5.3 Principal components analysis

The correlations in Table 2 summarize the pairwise relationships among the 20 indices. Though we were able in the previous section to identify four groups of highly correlated (though predictably so) indices, it is difficult if not impossible to appreciate the global

TABLE 2

Correlations among indices

	Proportion (Eng.-Only Responses)	Proportion (Eng. 1st Choice)	Proportion (Eng. Tokens)	Proportion (+ Frequent Eng. Type)	Proportion (Non-Sp. Responses)	Maximum (Token Integration)	Mean (Type Integration)	Mean (Token Integration)	Proportion (Bil. Responses)	Total (Tokens)	Total (Multi-Response Speakers)	Use-Weighted Consistency	Field Consistency	Gender Consistency	Total (Types)	Proportion (Eng. 1st Choice) / Proportion (Eng. Tokens)	Proportion (Eng. Types)	Proportion (+Frequent Eng. Type) / Proportion (Eng. Tokens)	Total (No Response)	Total (Failures)
Proportion (Eng.-Only Responses)	1.00																			
Proportion (Eng. 1st Choice)	.96	1.00																		
Proportion (Eng. Tokens)	.98	.98	1.00																	
Proportion (+ Frequent Eng. Type)	.94	.95	.96	1.00																
Proportion (Non-Sp. Responses)	.93	.97	.97	.95	1.00															
Maximum (Token Integration)	.44	.49	.47	.46	.52	1.00														
Mean (Type Integration)	.32	.32	.33	.37	.38	.66	1.00													
Mean (Token Integration)	.35	.38	.38	.42	.43	.69	.87	1.00												
Proportion (Bil. Responses)	.02	.23	.19	.22	.39	.32	.23	.27	1.00											
Total (Tokens)	.16	.28	.28	.22	.40	.35	.23	.33	.68	1.00										
Total (Multi-Response Speakers)	.23	.36	.36	.32	.48	.39	.41	.50	.72	.86	1.00									
Use-Weighted Consistency	-.09	-.09	-.10	-.07	-.07	-.03	.24	.29	.03	.05	.15	1.00								
Field Consistency	-.15	-.10	-.11	-.11	-.07	-.11	-.06	-.05	.18	.20	.23	.66	1.00							
Gender Consistency	-.09	-.02	-.04	-.04	.00	-.10	-.03	.04	.20	.30	.28	.67	.92	1.00						
Total (Types)	-.10	-.02	-.07	-.14	.03	.22	.19	.09	.30	.29	.27	.04	.24	.19	1.00					
Proportion (Eng. 1st Choice) / Proportion (Eng. Tokens)	.35	.40	.30	.34	.27	.22	.09	.06	-.13	-.30	-.27	-.17	-.24	-.25	-.00	1.00				
Proportion (Eng. Types)	.31	.31	.32	.16	.23	.02	-.24	-.12	-.14	.01	.01	-.29	-.22	-.19	-.37	.07	1.00			
Proportion (+Frequent Eng. Type) / Proportion (Eng. Tokens)	.08	.07	.05	.28	.08	-.17	.01	.02	.03	-.25	-.17	.15	-.01	.02	-.47	.11	-.35	1.00		
Total (No Response)	-.25	-.24	-.25	-.23	-.23	-.14	-.05	-.10	-.03	-.47	-.25	-.10	-.18	-.38	.14	-.05	-.06	.02	1.00	
Total (Failures)	.34	.34	.33	.38	.32	.17	.31	.37	.02	-.16	.25	.32	.17	.19	-.09	.22	.03	.21	-.11	1.00

patterns and relationships implicit in the data by trying to simultaneously compare all 190 separate correlation values. Thus, to obtain an overview of these relationships, and to discover how the lexical representations of the various semantic fields are disposed in the space spanned by the indices, we undertook a principal components analysis.

Principal components analysis enables the visualization of relationships implicit in data by projecting a multi-dimensional data configuration down to a subspace of low dimensionality. In this low-dimensional space, semantic fields which have similar scores on all or most of the indices in Table 1 will be located close to each other, while those which have very different scores will be situated in regions remote from each other. This enables us to see patterns not apparent in the original data format of Table 1, and to identify the one or two axes, or dimensions, or "principal components", along which most of the variance occurs.

Without going into all of the technical details here (these are available in Appendix F), we can summarize the overall procedure followed. We utilized principal components analysis to explore the significance of the first four principal components in terms of their relationships to the 20 indices described earlier. Table 3 shows the coordinates of the 20 indices along the first four principal components, which account for 33%, 18%, 11%, and 10%, respectively of the variance in the data.[7] Subsequent components each account for 5% or less of the variance.

Table 3

Projection of indices on four principal components

INDICES	1	2	3	4
PROPORTION (ENGLISH TOKENS)	.36	.13	.06	-.14
PROPORTION (ENGLISH TYPES)	.07	.22	-.09	-.37
PROPORTION (BILINGUAL RESPONSES)	.16	-.27	-.23	-.05
PROPORTION (ENGLISH-ONLY RESPONSES)	.34	.18	.11	-.10
PROPORTION (NON-SPANISH RESPONSES)	.37	.07	.01	-.11
MEAN (TYPE INTEGRATION)	.22	-.13	-.06	.47
MEAN (TOKEN INTEGRATION)	.25	-.14	-.04	.41
MAXIMUM (TOKEN INTEGRATION)	.26	-.05	-.20	.26
$\frac{\text{PROPORTION (MOST FREQUENT ENGLISH TYPE}}{\text{PROPORTION (ENGLISH TOKENS)}}$	.02	.08	.38	.15
PROPORTION (MOST FREQUENT ENGLISH TYPE)	.36	.13	.13	-.05
PROPORTION (ENGLISH FIRST CHOICE)	.36	.13	.06	-.12
$\frac{\text{PROPORTION (ENGLISH FIRST CHOICE)}}{\text{PROPORTION (ENGLISH TOKENS)}}$	.11	.25	.11	.15
GENDER CONSISTENCY	.02	-.40	.33	-.22
USE-WEIGHTED CONSISTENCY	.01	-.32	.39	.13
FIELD CONSISTENCY	-.02	-.39	.31	-.17
TOTAL (TOKENS)	.18	-.31	-.29	-.25
TOTAL (MULTI-RESPONSE SPEAKERS)	.23	-.31	-.20	-.09
TOTAL (TYPES)	.02	-.24	-.27	.12
TOTAL (NO RESPONSE)	-.12	.12	-.12	.29
TOTAL (FAILURES)	.16	-.02	.34	.17

5.3.1 Projection of indices

In Figure 1, which plots the first and second principal components, the clusterings of the English-use and the integration indices around the first principal component indicates that these indices are of maximum significance in the assimilation of the loanwords. The proximity of the gender consistency cluster, multiple-response cluster, and Total(types) index in the lower right of the graph appears to point to a similarly significant relationship; however, this association turns out to be an artifact of index definitions and questionnaire methodology. (We will return to this shortly.) Another apparent grouping (not circled) in the upper central part of Figure 1 is that of Proportion (English types), Proportion (English first choice/ Proportion (English tokens), and Proportion (most frequent English type Proportion English tokens), which are only marginally or even negatively correlated. Their spurious grouping is due to certain mathematical shortcomings of the approach.

Figure 2 graphs the second and third principal components. It further illustrates the integrity of the four main clusters, the position of the integration cluster between the English use and multiple response clusters, and the clear dissassociation of the gender consistency cluster from the multiple-response cluster and Total (types) index.

The graphs of the third and fourth principal components are not given here as they supply much the same information, as well

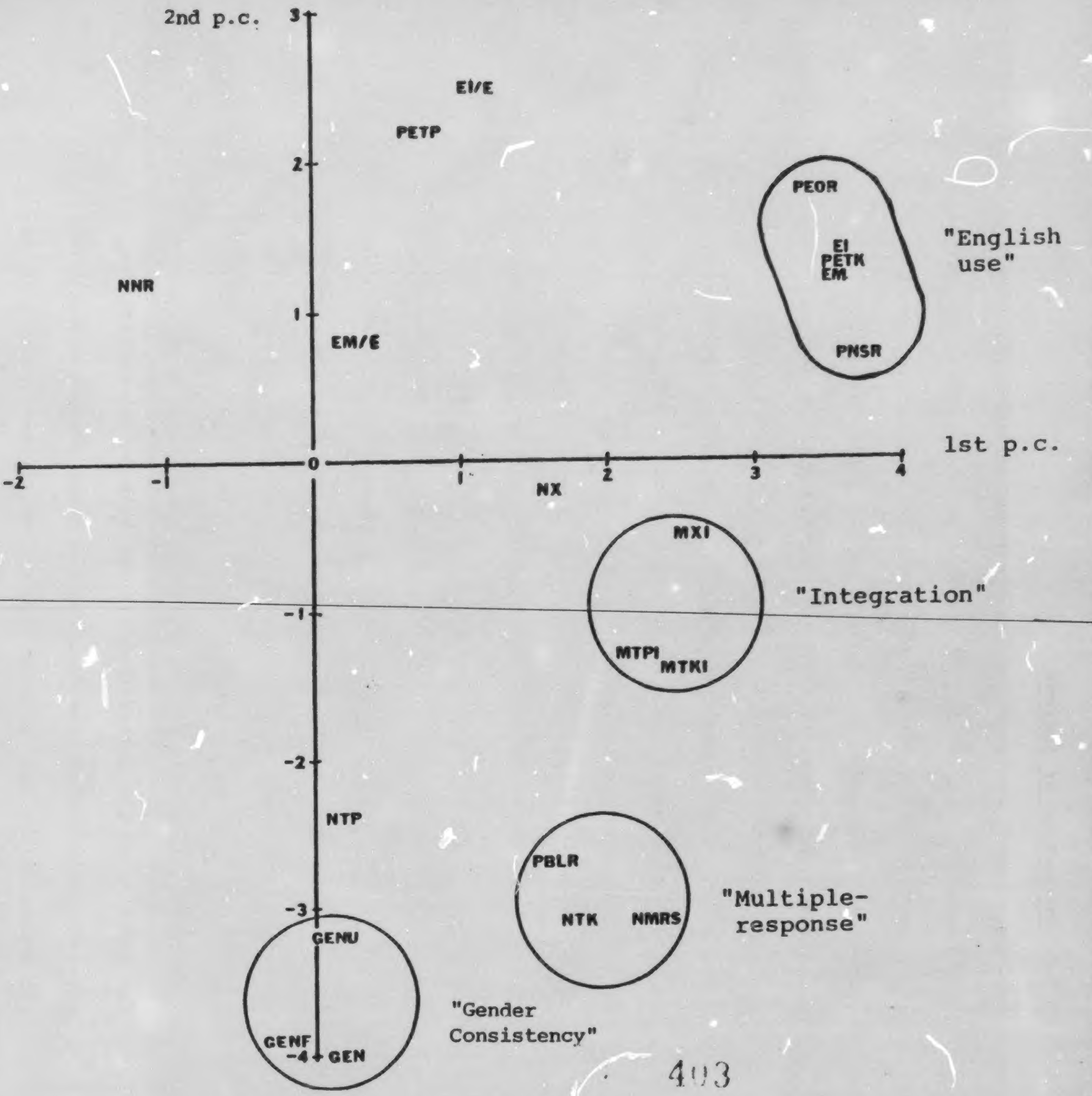


Fig. 1. Projection of indices on first two principal components.

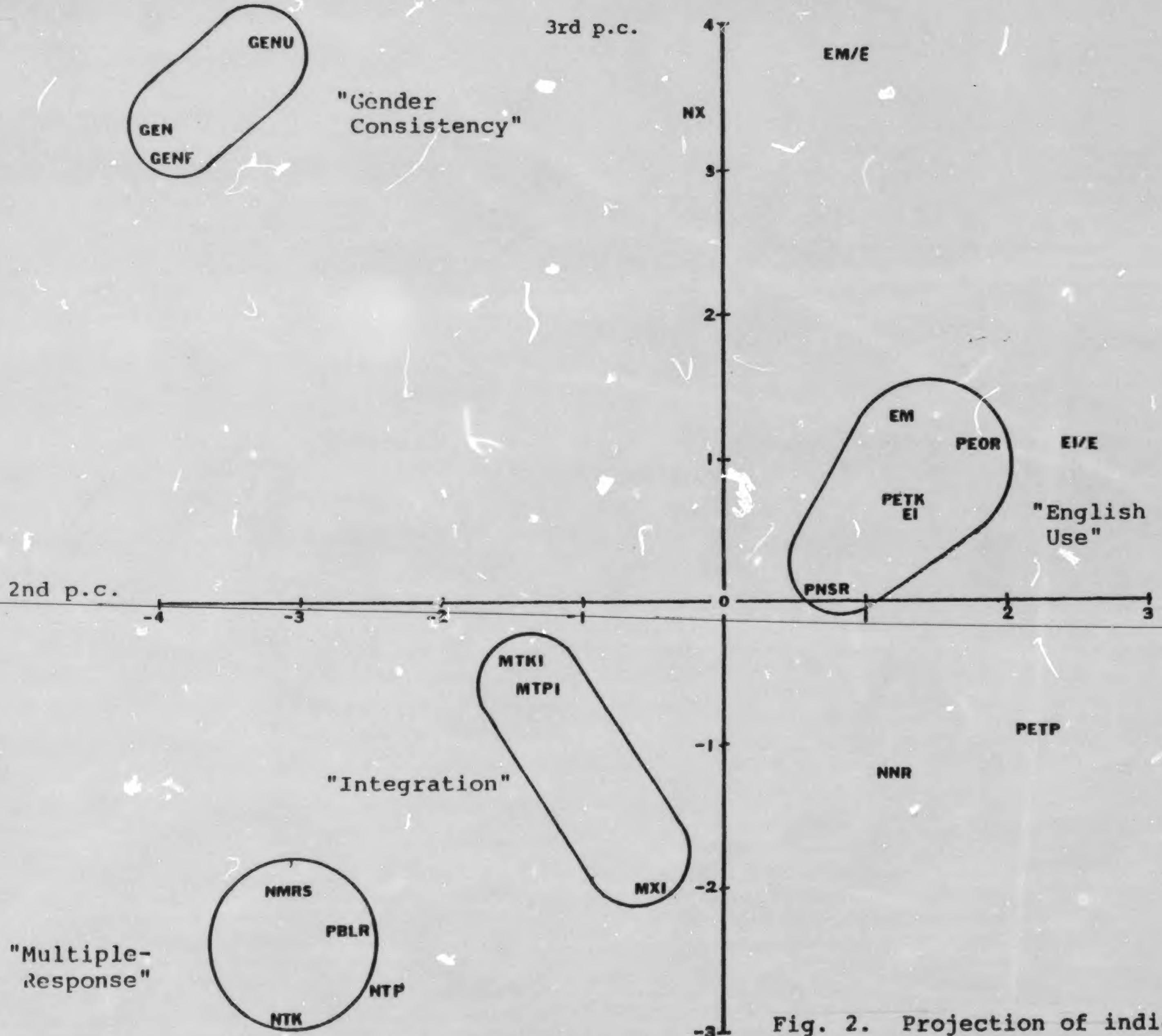


Fig. 2. Projection of indices on second and third principal components.

Legend for Figures 1 and 2

PETK	Proportion (English tokens)
PETP	Proportion (English types)
PBLR	Proportion (Bilingual responses)
PEOR	Proportion (English-only responses)
PNSR	Proportion (Non-Spanish responses)
MTPI	Mean (Type integration)
MTKI	Mean (Token integration)
MXI	Maximum (Token integration)
EM	Proportion (Most frequent English type)
EM/E	$\frac{\text{Proportion (Most frequent English type)}}{\text{Proportion (English tokens)}}$
EI	Proportion (English first choice)
EI/E	$\frac{\text{Proportion (English first choice)}}{\text{Proportion (English tokens)}}$
GEN	Gender consistency
GENU	Use-weighted consistency
GENF	Field consistency
NTK	Total (tokens)
NMRS	Total (multi-response speakers)
NTP	Total types
NNR	Total (no response)
NX	Total (failures)

as sharply distinguishing the integration cluster from the others.

5.3.2 Projection of semantic fields

We then examined where the test items (or semantic fields) were located in the space spanned by these components as seen in Figures 3 and 4. Figure 3 plots the fields on components one and two. The more integrated semantic fields are within rectangles, and the figure is divided according to regions of high (rightmost), medium, and low (leftmost) values of Proportion(English tokens). With few exceptions, fields expressed by highly integrated and frequently used English words are at the right side of the figure. We can see from the figure that English use and phonological integration are strongly but not perfectly correlated.

Figure 4 is identical to Figure 3 except that it illustrates the artifactual relationship of gender consistency and Total(types) mentioned earlier. Those fields in the lower part of the graph tend to be those which elicited the most diverse responses. With so many types, there could not be as many tokens for the most common English type as there could with the fields in the upper portion of the graph. This means that gender conflict is harder to detect. Thus the apparent relationship between gender consistency and Total(types) is probably not a real effect, but an indirect result of limited sample size.

There does appear to be one genuine pattern involving gender consistency. Gender conflict appears most frequently with words

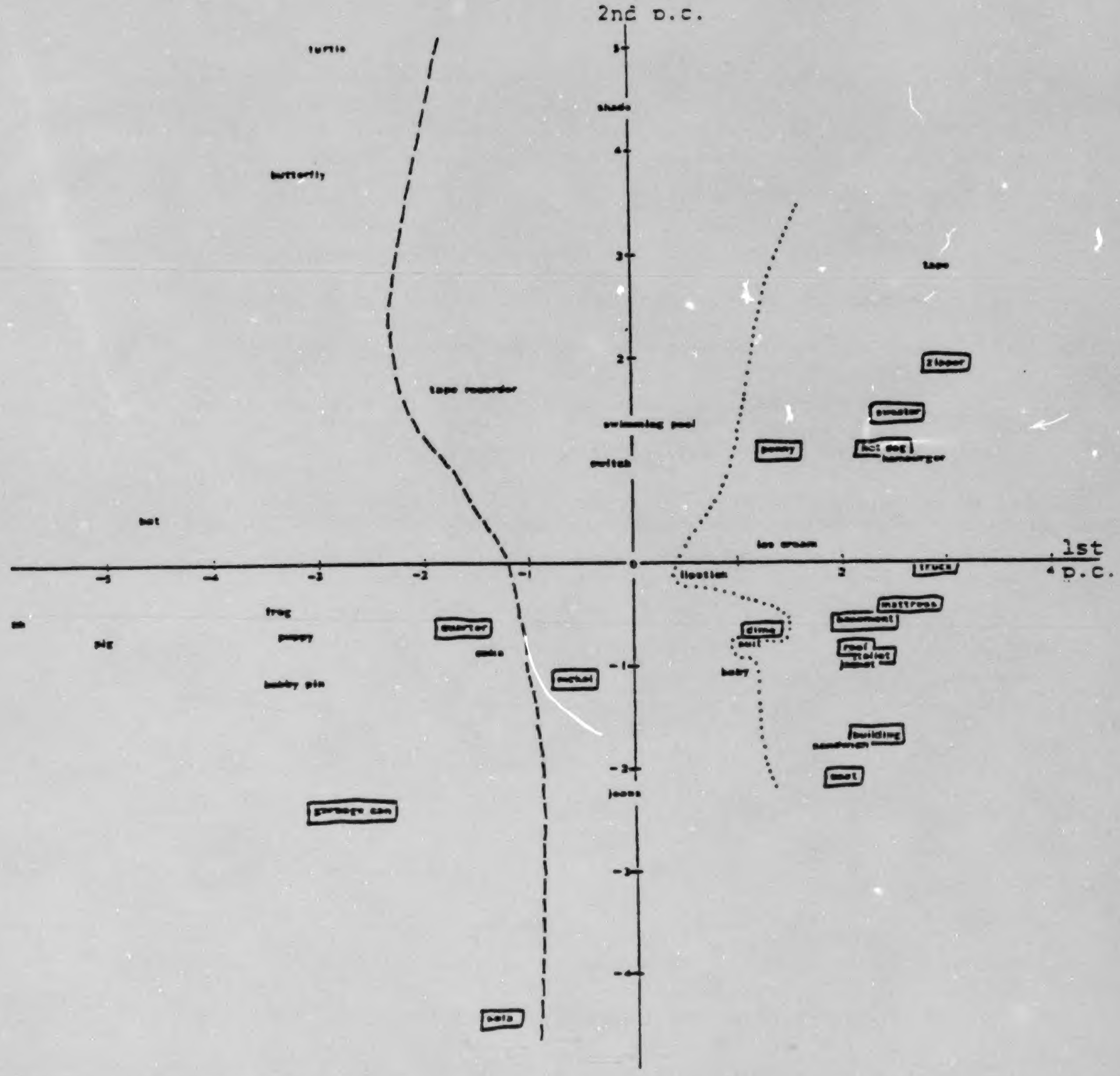


Fig. 3. Scores of 38 semantic fields on first two principal components. Proportion (English tokens) is less than 1/3 to left of dashed line and more than 3/5 to right of dotted line. Rectangles indicate average token integration is at least 1.25.

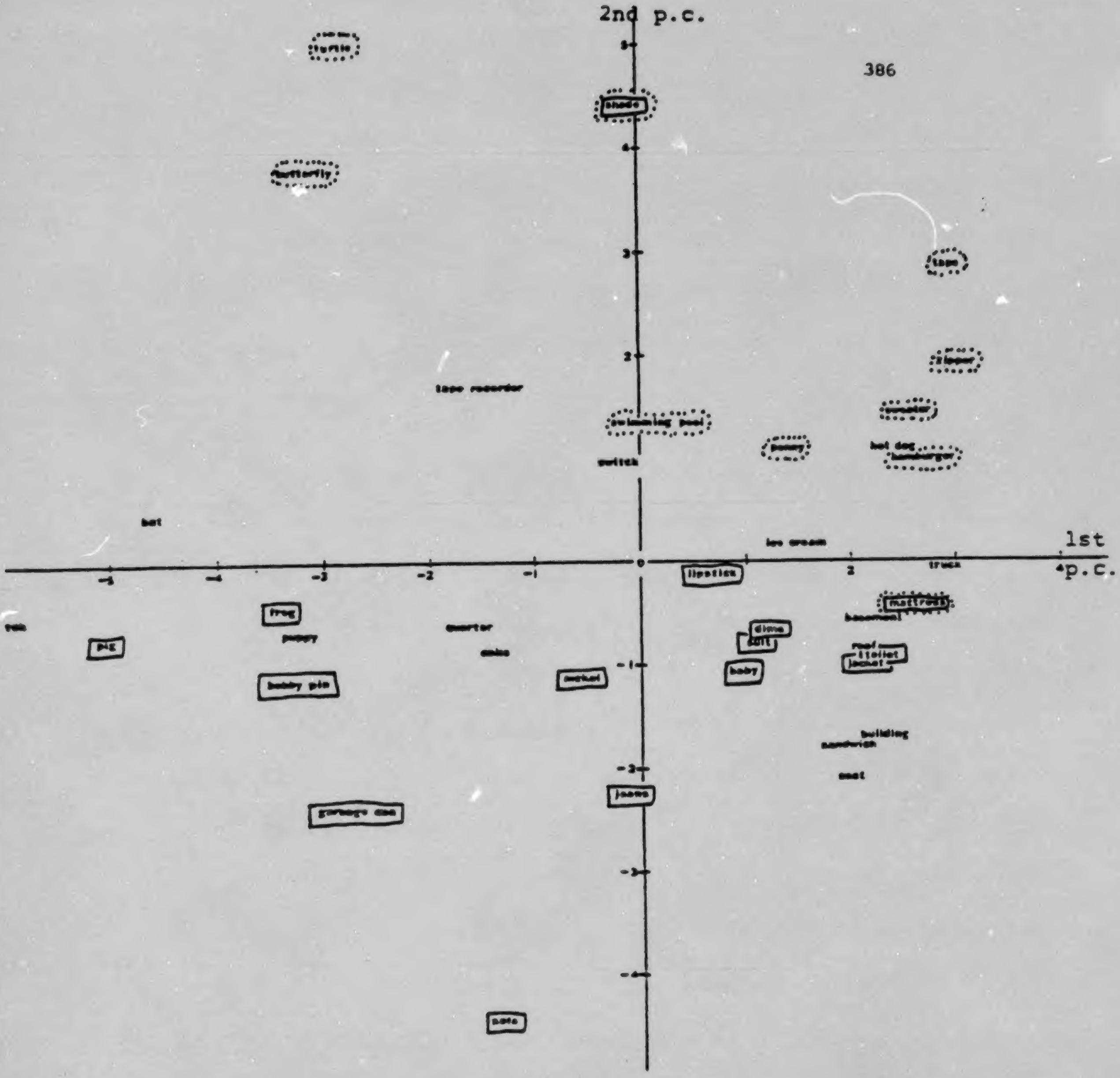


Fig. 4. Relationship between gender consistency and number of different types. Rectangles indicate at least five types elicited for semantic field. Dotted lines indicate at least one masculine and one feminine token elicited for most common English word.

which are partially assimilated. The most assimilated words show little conflict, and much of the conflict registered on the graph is only apparent and due to divergent phonological forms which determine gender (e.g. *la suera/el sulter, la hamberga/el hambérguer*). This indicates that conflict in gender assignment may be only a transitional stage in the assimilation of loanwords, disappearing with increased frequency and phonological integration. This is not a surprising finding, but the quantitative corroboration is an advance.

5.4 Intergenerational aspects of loanword assimilation

The assimilation of loanwords is, of course, a diachronic process, best studied if possible at several points in time. When comparable historical data are not available, however, as is the case with the quantitative materials we are using, we can have recourse to apparent time, i.e. intergenerational differences.[8] In the case of borrowing, more, say, than in phonological or morphological change, this approach is complicated by acquisitional effects. Children may have different patterns of loanword use in the same way as their phonological systems pass through immature stages before arriving at the adult patterns.

The comparison of the children's and adults' responses in Table 4 and Figure 5 indicate that English usage is advancing among the younger generation, at least insofar as the semantic fields under investigation are concerned. The equivocal results for the integration indices - children score lower on mean token integration

Table 4

Children's and adults' average scores on twelve indices *

INDICES	CHILDREN	ADULTS
TOTAL (TOKENS)	16.5	9.2
TOTAL (NO RESPONSE)	.6	.6
TOTAL (MULTI-RESPONSE SPEAKERS)	4.1	1.8
PROPORTION (ENGLISH TOKENS)	62.6	51.2
PROPORTION (ENGLISH-ONLY RESPONSES)	56.4	44.4
PROPORTION (BILINGUAL RESPONSE)	14.3	15.2
PROPORTION (NON-SPANISH RESPONSES)	71.1	59.8
PROPORTION (ENGLISH FIRST CHOICE)	64.2	52.6
$\frac{\text{PROPORTION (ENGLISH FIRST CHOICE)}}{\text{PROPORTION (ENGLISH TOKENS)}}$	80.3	73.7
MEAN (TOKEN INTEGRATION)	107.2	115.6
MAXIMUM (TOKEN INTEGRATION)	179.4	150.0
FIELD CONSISTENCY	90.1	78.6

* In this comparison we chose only those indices which had proven productive in the earlier analysis.

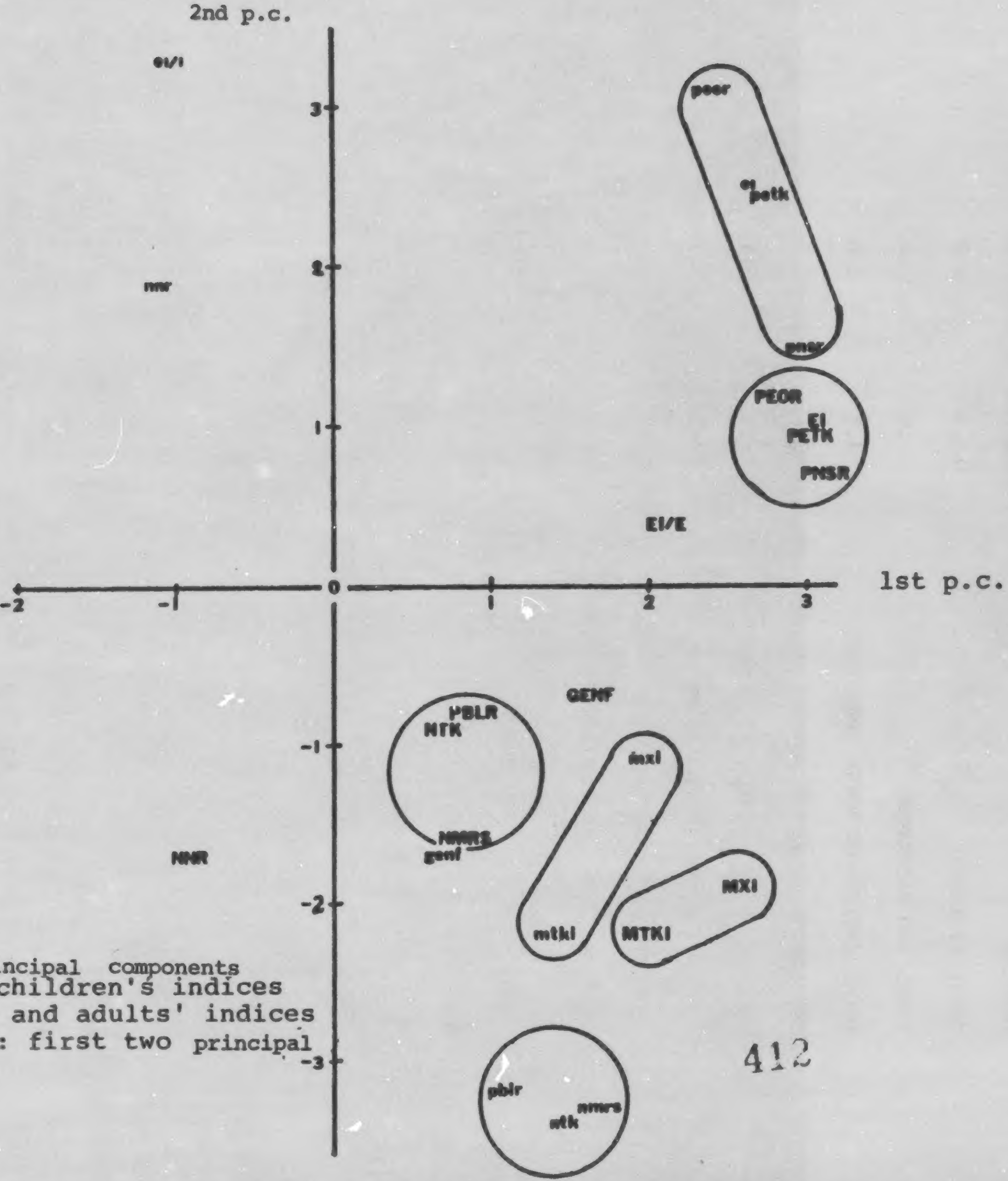


Fig. 5. Principal components analysis of children's indices (lower case) and adults' indices (upper case): first two principal components.

but higher on maximum token integration than the adults - suggest that there is no diminishing of the Spanish phonological assimilatory mechanism in the children's speech. This would disprove contentions that there is increasing English influence in the Spanish phonology of children. It also disproves the hypothesis of Haugen and others that childhood bilinguals (which is the case in varying degrees for the children in our sample) tend to reproduce borrowed material in a form which more closely approximates that of the source language (English) than speakers who acquired one of their two languages in adulthood. Rather, these results indicate that when a term is accepted into a speech community, and adapted into a particular phonological form, it is that form which is transmitted across generations in much the same way as monolingual neologisms. Indeed, if we were to hear someone produce *roof* rather than *rufo* in an otherwise Spanish context, we would have good reason to consider this an instance of code-switching rather than borrowing.

Despite the children's greater proportion of English choices, there is overall a striking congruence between the responses of the two generations. In Figure 5 we see that the indices for each group are similarly clustered. This would indicate that patterns or loan-word assimilation are community-wide. They are not transitory tendencies on the part of first-generation immigrants, nor are they artifacts of the acquisition process, but rather a set of processes operating in a regular way in the New York Puerto Rican variety of Spanish.

Insofar as there are some intergenerational differences, these are almost all confined to the second principal component. On the major axis of loanword assimilation (the first component), the adults' indices and the children's indices are generally very close. But on the second component, the difference between adults and children is that the children's indices have much more extreme values, those above the horizontal axis begin much further above, and those below, generally much further below.

In other words, with respect to the second component, which contrasts multiple-response indices against those associated with simple responses, the children's indices vary more widely. This indicates a greater variability in their responses regarding the number of different terms supplies for each concept. And this in turn can be related largely to the fact that more children were tested than adults. In Table 4, the average number of tokens and number of speakers who offered more than one response is almost double for children what it is for adults. It is obvious that these indices must thus have a greater range of variation for the former than for the latter. This difference between children and adults, then, reflects the construction and application of the questionnaire rather than any real intergenerational linguistic difference.

6.0 Conclusions

The use of principal components analysis in this work has proven useful in discovering and illustrating certain regularities in the data. At the same time, it is a tool which must be used with great care, and all apparent patterns should be carefully verified with the correlation matrix and interpreted in terms of the original data as well as ethnographic knowledge about the speakers and the speech community. For example, as we have seen, the process of morphological/syntactic integration (gender consistency) showed up in a very distorted and difficult-to-interpret way, which could only be understood in terms of a critique of the original data. A projection of the data on a space of too low dimensionality resulted in a spurious grouping of some of the indices. Finally, a systematic but artifactual difference between children and adults appeared on the second principal component. This was merely an effect of sample size.

On the basis of our experience in this study, we can identify the operational indices of integration which seem to characterize best the various aspects of the assimilation of loanwords into the host language lexicon. Proportion(most common English type) is a direct measure of the social integration of a loanword. Proportion (English tokens) including all types, or Proportion(English first choices) are measures rather of the displacement of Spanish terms from a semantic field, but the high correlation between all three means that they are interchangeable. The much weaker correlations involving Proportion(English types) and the relative concentrations within English usage, namely Proportion(English first choice)/Proportion(English tokens), and Proportion(most common English type)

/Proportion(English tokens), among themselves or with any of the others lead us to believe that these three indices do not directly measure any key process of assimilation. Mean token integration and Use-weighted consistency seem to be the indices which are most sensitive to the process of phonological and morphological integration, respectively.

These findings, as limited as they are, enable us to confirm or disprove to some extent a number of hypotheses about borrowing generally taken for granted in the literature on bilingualism.

First, we can confirm that borrowings show different degrees of linguistic assimilation, and that the degree of assimilation is associated with, though not solely attributable to, the frequency of usage of the word (Holden 1976). Borrowed forms which have the greatest currency in a bilingual community (i.e. are most frequent) do indeed show the most phonological and syntactic adaptation to the structure of the recipient language. The decision to assign gender to a noun borrowed from English has no bearing on its status as an integrated loanword; however, the choice of gender may vacillate[9] before loanwords are fully integrated. In contrast to what Holden (1976) claimed, loanwords do not immediately assume a phonological shape identical to that of the target language; judging from the different realizations elicited in this study, this process appears to be gradual. Indeed, the loanword may enter the community repertoire under two or more competing shapes.

Second, the fact that loanwords change their shape in a quantifiable way during the borrowing process allows us to confirm the distinctiveness of code-switching versus borrowing, as well as propose a means of systematically differentiating the two in natural discourse. The procedure is as follows:

If we come across a single word of English origin in Spanish discourse, we should first attempt to verify whether the speaker has used an equivalent Spanish form elsewhere. (As we explained earlier, this is easier in an elicitation task than in natural speech, but it might be feasible, though time-consuming, to do the same for natural speech, if the data is computerized[10].) If the speaker has used an equivalent form, and particularly if the word remains phonologically relatively unintegrated, we can infer that it is unlikely to be a loanword, and should reasonably be considered a code-switch. Gender or other syntactic inconsistencies in repeated use of the word would be another indication of a non-loanword and probable code-switch. If the speaker is not a fluent bilingual, phonological integration cannot serve as a sure indicator of a loanword, so the status of the form in this particular instance must remain undecided without a study of the larger corpus.

On the other hand, if for a bilingual speaker an English form is in frequent use, has no Spanish competitors, and is highly integrated phonologically and syntactically, we should consider it a loanword, although this again must be verified on the community level. For certain cases (e.g. *tape* and *zipper*), despite very frequent use and little or no Spanish competition (see Table 1) , phonological integration might be blocked short of completion; further study is needed to characterize such loanwords. With respect to the individual occurrence, this case is again indeterminable without additional knowledge of community norms.

In summary, there are two polar cases whose loanword status we can identify in natural discourse: 1) A fluent bilingual uses upon a single occasion an unintegrated English form in Spanish discourse for which he has also used several times the equivalent Spanish form. This is most likely to be a code-switch. 2) A non-fluent bilingual or a monolingual Spanish speaker uses frequently an integrated English form with no Spanish competitors. This is most likely to be a loanword, though its idiosyncratic, as opposed to community, status remains to be determined. For the forms in between, loanword status cannot be determined in individual instances. These require a comparative study of the behavior of community mumbers with regard to each form. Even then, some words which are marginally frequent, partially integrated, and/or somewhat competitive with Spanish equivalents, may be in transition toward loanword status, so that the origin of any particular instance in the text may remain forever undecipherable.

A final important finding to emerge from this analysis is the relative homogeneity of the community with respect to loanword acceptance. This stems from the result that older and younger speakers do not seem highly differentiated with respect to loanword usage. We in effect disproved for this community previous hypotheses that speakers import phonological and morphological patterns closer to those of the source language. More important, this is evidence that the process of borrowing is carried out in a regular way on the community level, and is not a series of random accidents.

Clearly it is the combination of factors brought out in earlier chapters which makes this linguistic regularity possible; among them the durability of the community over many years, the daily interaction among English-dominant, Spanish-dominant, and bilingual individuals, the positive attitudes toward bilingualism, the acceptance of language mixing in its various forms, and the respect toward elders required of young people. This homogeneity seen here with loanwords corroborates once again the linguistic continuity and stability which we have observed in a number of ways within this bilingual speech community, one which has been so often characterized as in a state of linguistic and cultural decline.

Notes

1. Admittedly, this approach has a number of problems, paramount of which is the questionable relationship between what comes to mind first and what is really important or salient to the speaker. The speaker may spout off hastily without thinking, and only later give forms which did not immediately come to mind for whatever reason but are nevertheless an important part of his repertoire. It is also unclear, given the linear nature of language, how to judge the difference in importance between first and second choices.

2. In nearly 200 hours of tape-recorded speech from the children and adults, less than half of the English words in Table 1 occurred in a Spanish context at all, only 10 of them were uttered by more than one speaker, and only two by more than 2 speakers: *tape* and *building*.

3. Administration of the instrument was done by Alicia Pousada.

4. We should keep in mind that these are elicited data and subject to all the artificialities of such material. However, given the practical limitations of analyzing naturally occurring data described above, we feel that some worthwhile insights can be obtained by this approach and proceed bearing in mind all the limitations.

5. These were distractors; with the exception of "window", we had no reason to expect any of them to be rendered in English.

6. Note that most of these candidates for loanword status have been used by Puerto Ricans both here and on the island for a very long time and refer to items which were not originally native to Puerto Rico.

7. This leaves 28% of the variance, unexplained, which is more than what is accounted for individually by three of the principal components.

8. There are certain problems in utilizing apparent time analysis which must be noted here. In essence, such an approach assumes that the adults' speech has been frozen since the birth of their children when they began passing on the linguistic forms current in their speech at that time. Just as the children may innovate and introduce new patterns, so may the adults change and develop their speech. The same conditions which affect the younger generation will have their impact on the adults (though perhaps not to the same degree given the difference in developmental stage). We must therefore be very careful in using appraent time, because it is essentially an ahistorical approach.

9. That no gender vacillation to speak of was noted in the analysis of gender assignment to loanwords in Chapter 6 is due to the fact that these borrowed words occurred in natural speech and thus were at least socially integrated.

10. We are in the process of completing such a computerization of our speech data for 30 adults of the community and hope to be able to tackle such analyses in the future.

References

Alfaro, R. 1964. *Diccionario de Anglicismos*. Madrid: Editorial Editorial Gredos.

Barkin, F. 1980. The role of loanword assimilation in gender assignment. *The Bilingual Review* 7:2, 105-112.

Bloomfield L. 1933. *Language history*. (H. Hoijer, editor). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bowen, J. 1975. The adaptation of English borrowings. In Hernández-Chavez, Cohen, and Beltramo (eds.). *El lenguaje de los chicanos*. Arlington, Va: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Fries, C. and K. Pike. 1949. Coexistent phonemic systems. *Language* 25, 29-50.

Hasselmo, N. 1969. On diversity in American Swedish. *Svenska Landsmål och Svenskt Folkliv*.

__________. 1970. Code-switching and modes of speaking. In G. Gilbert (ed.). *Texas studies in bilingualism*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co.

Haugen, E. 1950a. The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Language* 26, 210-231.

__________. 1950b. Problems of bilingualism. *Lingua* 2, 271-290.

__________. 1956. *Bilingualism in the Americas: A bibliography and research guide*. Alabama: American Dialect Society Monograph No. 26.

__________. 1969. *The Norwegian language in America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Holden, K. 1976. Assimilation rates of borrowing. *Language* 52:1, 131-147.

Kreidler, C. 1957. A study of the influence of English on the Spanish of Puerto Ricans in Jersey City. Ph.D. dissertation, U. of Michigan.

Mackey, W. 1970. Interference, integration and the synchronic fallacy. In J. Alatis (ed.) *Georgetown University Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics* 23, 195-227.

Murphy, R. 1974. Interference, integration and the verbal repertoire. *Linguistics* 128, 59-67.

Nash, R. 1970. Spanglish: Language contact in Puerto Rico. *American Speech* 45, 3-4.

Poplack, S. 1980. "Sometimes I'll Start a Sentence in Spanish y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL": Toward a typology of code-switching. Linguistics 18, 581-618.

del Rosario, R. 1970. El español de América. Sharon, CT: Troutman Press.

Sankoff, D. and S. Poplack. 1980. A formal grammar for code-switching. Working Paper #8. New York: Center for Puerto Rican Studies. Also in Papers in Linguistics 14:1.

Shaffer, D. 1978. The place of code-switching in linguistic contacts. In M. Paradis (ed.). Aspects of bilingualism. Columbia, S.C.: Hornbeam Press, Inc.

Varo, C. 1971. Consideraciones antropológicas y políticas en torno a la enseñanza del "Spanglish" en Nueva York. Río Piedras, PR: Ediciones Librería International.

Weinreich, U. 1953. Languages in contact. The Hague: Mouton.

CHAPTER EIGHT -- CODE-SWITCHING

1.0 Introduction

Code-switching, or the alternating use of different language varieties within a given stretch of discourse, is a well-documented pattern in many speech communities, and has prompted a great deal of controversy and speculation among researchers and educators alike. It has been confused with lexical borrowing, described as a new language, seen as a reflection of sloppy or schizophrenic thinking, and condemned as a cover-up for speakers' linguistic inadequacies. Such linguistic authorities as Weinreich (1963: 73) and Haugen (1972: 80) have referred to code-switching as 'abnormal' and 'inappropriate' in 'unchanged speech situations' and 'within a single sentence.' Among educators there have been many (among them proficient code-switchers) who have attempted to repress the use of code-switching in the classroom by both children and teachers, viewing such behavior as detrimental to the acquisition and development of both first and second language skills.

Sociolinguists have been interested in code-switching for a variety of reasons. First of all, it is very wide-spread in occurrence, having been documented in both multi- and monolingual speech communities. Indeed, one is tempted to say that code-switching of some kind arises whenever there is linguistic interaction. Code-switching is closely related to, though distinct from, other multivarietal phenomena like linguistic "interference" or transference, borrowing, calquing, etc., all of which can occur within the same speech community and all of which have implications for language diffusion and change. Furthermore, code-switching is a highly visible form of sociolinguistic variation, presenting interesting possibilities for further development of the analysis of both inter- and intra-code variability. It also raises important questions about the way language varieties are acquired, cognitively processed, and organized in utterances. Finally, the utilization of code-switching as a communicative strategy can reveal much about what constitutes sociolinguistic competence and how speakers learn to use language to respond to, as well as manipulate, changes in social situations.

A number of research projects (some of them ethnographically-oriented) have sought to uncover the social purposes, functions, and implications of this phenomenon. Such studies have shown that, beyond filling in gaps in memory, code-switching can be used to accomplish a wide range of social goals, among them the expression of solidarity and group identity (Gumperz 1964, 1971, 1976; Blom and Gumperz 1972; Valdes-Fallis 1976; Poplack 1978), creation or maintenance of social distance (Scotton and Ury 1975; Pedraza 1982), establishment of social control (Shuy 1974; Valdes-Fallis 1977; Zentella 1981), and organization of discourse (McClure 1981). It can also serve to facilitate precision of expression, add an extra dimension to literary creativity, and give pleasure to the speakers.

A smaller body of work has focused primarily on the syntactic aspects of code-switching (Hasselmo 1972, 1979; Gingras 1974; Lance 1975; Timm 1975, 1978; Pfaff 1975, 1976, 1979; Sankoff and Poplack 1970; Wentz 1977; Lipski 1978). Such studies have sought to uncover the purely linguistic constraints on code-switching and have demonstrated the regular, rule-governed nature of the alternation.

In this chapter, we will extend our previous work among Puerto Rican adults (Poplack 1978, 1979) to the children of the same community in order to ascertain whether there are any intergenerational differences with respect to code-switching.[1] We will examine the amount and types of code-switches found and the interaction of different attitudes held toward it. Our emphasis at all times will be on how the code-switching behavior of these children compares with that of the adults. The analysis offered here is only a preliminary one and focuses more on the linguistic aspects of code-switching than the interactional. However, we are in the process of developing a discourse analysis of code-switching which will be available in a future report.

2.0 Defining code-switching

Our long-term observation of the block and school as well as our attitudinal interviews indicate that code-switching is a wide-spread and accepted mode of communication within this speech community. In Chapter 4 we saw that while teachers hold strong reservations about using code-switching in the classroom, most are willing to allow the children to switch in order to express themselves more fully.

Parents, as well, though perhaps preferring that their children not switch, view the phenomenon as natural and do not express undue concern about the possible effects of such practice. All community members (teachers, parents and children) acknowledge code-switching in their daily interactions. This corresponds closely to Zentella's (1981) findings for a nearby block in East Harlem.

2.1 Distinguishing code-switches and other language contact phenonema

Code-switching is often confused with other possible outcomes of language contact situations such as interference, pidginization, borrowing, calquing, language death, relexification, learned use of foreign words, cross-language punning and other word-play. However, code-switching may be distinguished from the above in that it does not involve deformation or replacement of parts of the grammar or lexicon of the language(s) involved. Each of the component languages maintains its structural integrity. In addition, unlike many of the afore-mentioned phenomena, code-switching is prevalent in a broad range of communicative situations.

We had originally distinguished code-switches from loanwords (Poplack 1978) on the basis of the degree of integration of items from one language (L_1) to the phonological, morphological, and syntactic patterns of the other (L_2). Thus, items such as those in (1) below, which preserve English phonological patterns, were considered examples of code-switching in that study, while segments such as those in (2) which are adapted to Puerto Rican Spanish patterns were considered to be instances of monolingual Spanish discourse.

1a. Leo un MAGAZINE [maegə'ziyn] (I read a magazine.)

1b. Me iban a LAY OFF [lέy ɔhf] (They were going to lay me off)

2a. Leo un magazine [maɣa'siŋ] (I read a magazine.)

2b. Me iban a dar layoff ['lei̯of] (They were going to lay me off.)

In later studies involving speakers of varying bilingual abilities (Poplack 1979, Sankoff and Poplack 1980), we were forced to modify this definition in order to take into account the fact that non-fluent bilinguals may have what is commonly known as "foreign accent" which influences the phonology of monolingual L_2 speech, as in (3) below, which was rendered wholly in Puerto Rican Spanish phonology:

3. That's what he said. [da'waɾi se] (58/100)

We accordingly refined the criteria for identifying a code-switch (see Table 1). Thus, Type 1 represents an example of a loanword - it has been borrowed from English and phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated into Spanish. Types 2, 3, and 4 represent code-switches.

In Chapters 6 and 7, we have seen more precisely how linguistic forms are borrowed and integrated into another language, and we can now add an additional criterion for distinguishing loans and code-switches - that of historicity. In a sense, a loanword is a code-switch with a past. Whereas code-switches are novel, individual occurrences, loans have been accepted and passed on to younger generations as part of monolingual discourse, sometimes co-existing with and sometimes replacing monolingual lexical items.

Type	Levels of Integration Into Base Language			CS?	Example
	phon	morph	syn		
1	✓	✓	✓	No	Es posible que te mogueen. (They might mug you.) (02/1)
2	-	-	✓	Yes	Las palabras HEAVY-DUTY, bien grandes, se me han olvidado. (I've forgotten the real big, heavy-duty words.) (40/485)
3	✓	-	-	Yes	Por ver el otro día, viejo. THAT WHAT HE SAID. [da 'waɾi se] (To see the next day, old man) (58/100)
4	-	-	-	Yes	No creo que son FIFTY-DOLLAR SUEDE ONES. (I don't think they're fifty-dollar suede ones.) (05/271)

Table 1. Identification of code-switching according to type of integration into the base language.

(Taken from Poplack 1979)

2.2 Code-switching constraints

Before moving on, we should review some of the basic restrictions on code-switching. Our past work has confirmed that there are two general linguistic constraints on where switching may occur:

> The Free Morpheme Constraint: a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme. In other words, (4a) below, in which the phonology of run is unambiguously English, while that of eando is unambiguously Spanish, does not tend to occur. Forms like (4b) which are phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated, are loan words and not instances of code-switching.

4a.	* run-eando	'running'
4b.	flipeando	'flipping'

> The Equivalence Constraint: a switch may only occur if the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch point is grammatical with respect to both languages involved. That is, the switch takes place at points which are equivalent in each of the languages, and ungrammatical utterances do not result. This is illustrated in Figure 1, where the dotted lines indicate permissible switch points and the arrows indicate ways in which constituents from two languages map onto each other. The speaker's actual utterance is reproduced in (C).

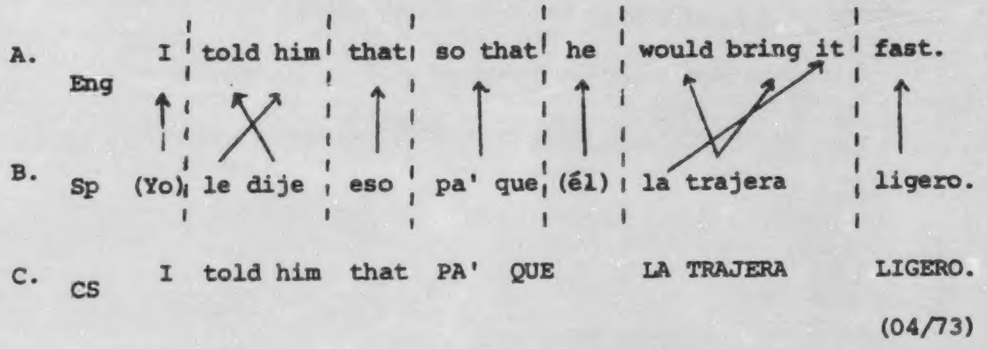

A.
Eng
I
told him
that
so that
he
would bring it
fast.
B.
Sp
(Yo)
le dije
eso
pa' que
(él)
la trajera
ligero.
C.
CS
I
told him
that
PA'
QUE
LA TRAJERA
LIGERO.
(04/73)

Figure 1. Permissible code-switching points.

As we will see in our comparison of the adult and child data, these constraints are upheld with few exceptions by both groups.

2.3 Code-switching types

Speakers engage in different types of code-switching, each characterized by switches at different levels of constituent structure and reflecting different degrees of bilingual ability. One type involves a high proportion of intra-sentential switching, as in (5) below.

5a. So you TODAVIA (still) haven't decided LO QUE VAS A HACER (what you're going to do) next week, LA SEMANA QUE VIENE (next week). (04/265)

5b. Let me see how to explain it. TODO EL MUNDO SE TIENE QUE PONERSE DE SU PARTE (Everybody has to do their part), you know, PA' VER SI (to see if) maybe like that the block gets better. (34/237)

We refer to this as a syntactically more complex or 'intimate' type, since a code-switched segment, and those around it, must conform to the underlying syntactic rules of two languages which link constituents together grammatically.

Another type, characterized by switches at the sentence level, is less 'intimate' in that the switch points are always sentence boundaries, and equivalence is easily attained. It is exemplified in (6) below:

6. Say that again? YO ESTOY DORMIDA. (I'm asleep). I'm sorry. (40/424)

While less intimate, this type requires considerable ability in each of the languages.

The least intimate and least demanding type of code-switching is characterized by tag switches and single noun switches, as in (7), which are often heavily loaded in ethnic content and would be placed low on a scale of translatability.

7a. La isla me gusta pero si tuviera algo (I like the island but if I only had something), YOU KNOW? Cuando voy ahí yo no tengo na' (when I go there I ain't got nothin'). (07'161)

7b. I say, CONTRA (damn), I've got a hint. (08/260)

7c. Es importante ser PUERTO RICAN y saber otras lenguas. (01/026)

The insertion of such elements in discourse has few, if any, ramifications for the remainder of the sentence. Tags are freely moveable constituents (like interjections, fillers, idiomatic expressions) which may be placed virtually anywhere in the sentence without violating any grammatical rule. The ease with which single nouns may be switched is attested to by the fact that of all grammatical categories, they have been found to be the most frequently switched (e.g. Timm 1974, Wentz 1977).

Highly bilingual speakers use all three types while less fluent speakers favor the latter of the three. As a result of the analysis presented here, we will also find that certain differences exist with respect to the code-switching types favored by adults versus those favored by children. Let us now move to an examination of the actual data.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Data collection

The code-switches analyzed in this chapter are drawn from two sources. The children's code-switches resulted from the speech recorded in both natural and interview settings among the children in home, school, and community contexts during the period of this project. The adult code-switches were collected in similar settings during our previous project for which Pedro Pedraza was the sole interviewer (Language Policy Task Force 1982). We had hoped to be able to compare the children with their own parents with the data collected for this project as we did in all the other chapters of this report; however, given our emphasis on the children's speech during recording, relatively little data for the parents appears on the tapes. Any comparison would be on the basis of very few adult tokens. Therefore we did the next best thing which was to compare the children's data with that of the 20 community adults we had analyzed in our earlier project (some of whom are their parents; others are relatives and friends). There is thus a time gap of two years between the collection of the two data sets, and there was a fieldworker present in the children's study who was not present during the adult study. However, all things considered, we feel that these changes do not radically change the overall comparison.

Most of the code-switches in both data sets are the result of peer or in-group interactions (which have been shown to favor code-switching, c.f. Poplack 1978). Others arose during responses to more formal questioning about language itself. There was no deliberate attempt to elicit code-switches, and the interviewers tended to follow the lead of the speakers in selecting language variety and lexical items. The great majority of the switches were taken from audio tapes--a small number were jotted down on the spot in settings where taping was not possible or the switch was uttered beyond the range of the microphone.

3.2 Coding procedures

The two data sets consist of 923 switches for the 16 children and 1835 switches for the 20 adults. A switch was counted as the chunk of speech in L_2, not the points of switching in and switching out, i.e. in sentence L_1 L_2 L_1, there is one switch (L_2), not two (L_1 -L_2) and L_2-L_1). Switches were distinguished from loanwords according to the criteria described in 2.1. This resulted in the omission of such items as cute [kyu], party [paɾi], team [tiŋ], trip [tr̃ip], closet ['klose], and hall [hol]. Switches into L_2 designating proper and place names were omitted, except when there was an acceptable L_1 alternative which was not used, e.g. Puerto Rico [pɔɹə 'riykow]~ [pweɾto 'xiko].

The code-switches and the utterances immediately before and after each switch were written down as they were heard on the tapes (or in person). Each instance of a switch was then coded as to language, type (i.e. intrasentential, inter-sentential, single noun, or tag), speaker group (adult or child), and speaker ability (bilingual, Spanish-dominant, or English-dominant).

3.3. Quantitative analysis

We were most concerned in this study with ascertaining whether children followed the basic patterns established in our earlier work with the speech of adults in the community, i.e. whether code-switching strategies are transmitted from one generation to another. In order to determine this, we calculated the number of switches of each type for the two groups and compared their performance. We also examined the children's data to see if there were any differences between the older and younger children, and between those in bilingual and English monolingual programs.

4.0 Results

4.1 Amount of Code-switching

There are clear differences among the children with regard to the amount of code-switching. Corroborating what we felt was the case as a result of our fieldwork (c.f. Chapter 3), girls tend to be the biggest code-switchers, accounting for 74% or 685 of the 923 switches. Children in bilingual programs also greatly out-switch those in monolingual English programs (78% versus 22%). In Table 2 below, we can see how sex and school program intersect. The children can be ranked according to their amount of code-switches--first the star switchers, the bilingual girls, then the bilingual boys, then the monolingual girls, and finally with the least switches, the monolingual boys.

Bilingual girls 62 %	Bilingual boys 16 %
Monolingual girls 12 %	Monolingual boys 10 %

N = 923

Table 2: Proportion of total code-switches by school program and sex of child

The distribution of our sample makes it difficult to say anything firm about the effect of age on code-switching, as the children only ranged in age from 5-12, and there were no older monolingual boys and no older bilingual girls. But it does not seem that age had much of an influence upon the amount of code-switching, as some of the most active code-switchers (like Dorcas and Josie) were very young. More important than the age of the child appears to be the length of time he/she has been utilizing the two languages. For example, both Iris and Herminio have relatively low code-switching rates because they are just beginning to learn English. Similarly, Pito was never observed to code-switch as Spanish has not really been part of his productive repertoire.

4.2 Code-switching types

If we examine the kinds of code-switches produced by the children as a group, we find that since nouns represent the largest percentage of the switches (37%) with intrasentential switches not too far behind (32%). Intersentential switches account for 23% of the total. Interestingly enough, a mere 8% of the switches fall into the tag category.

Separating the children by school program reveals little difference in the kind of switching they do, as can be seen in Table 3 below:

	Intrasentential	Intersentential	Single Nouns	Tags	
Bilingual	31 %	23 %	38 %	8 %	N=723
Monolingual	37 %	24 %	32 %	6 %	N=200

Table 3:Type of code-switch by school program of child

The slight differences which do arise in intrasentential and single noun switches are not statistically significant.

A similar break-down by sex indicates somewhat more varibility as can be seen in Table 4:

	Intrasentential	Intersentential	Single Nouns	Tags	
Girls	34 %	23 %	36 %	7 %	N=685
Boys	27 %	24 %	38 %	11 %	N=238

Table 4: Type of code-switch by sex of child

Girls appear to engage in more intrasentential switching (34% vs. 27%), and boys in more tag switching (11% vs. 7%). However, these differences also failed to be statistically significant.

Thus it appears that whereas the children do behave differently when it comes to how often they switch, they all behave similarly in terms of the kinds of switches produced.

4.3 Intergenerational comparison

How does this behavior compare with that of their parents?

Analysis of the children's code-switches shows that, despite the young age of some of them, the children behave like the adults in not violating the Equivalence or the Free Morpheme constraints. The only exceptions to the Equivalence Constraint involve adjective placement and possession (which are often syntactically non-equivalent in English and Spanish).[2] The three cases of this kind of non-equivalence found in our corpus can be seen in (8):

8a. En otro sitio de allá que tiene un (un parque pequeño)[3]
LITTLE parquecito. (In another place
over there that has a little park.) (11/183)

8b. Tenía una cara de GREEN. (She had a green
face.) (04/2/28) (una cara verde)

8c. Q: ¿Es tuyo? (Is it yours?)
A: Mi (my) COUSIN'S (03/109) (es de mi primo.)

There were also only three violations of the Free Morpheme Constraint, all from the same speaker, which further lessens their significance. They can be seen in (9):

9a. He is in the HERMANA DE EL's grade. (He is in his
sister's grade) (05/00) (El está en el grado de
la hermana de él.)

9b. And it MOJA-ed (wet) everything, everybody, right, (05/183)

9c. An' Gamien MANDA-ed (sent) his bird to kill her. (05/278)[4]

The children also engage in the same types of switching as do the adults:

10a. Tag-like Switch:
¿Ciento cincuenta cintas? (150 tapes?) OH, BOY! (13/010)

AY, PERO (Hey, but) don't hold on like that, man. (10/259).

10b. Inter-sentential switch:
Now you come! ¡NOSOTROS ESTAMOS HABLANDO DE UNA COSA
IMPORTANTE! (We're talking about something important).
(04/120)

I wanna go swimming but it's too late. ¿QUE SE PUEDE
HACER? (What can you do?) (15/150)

10c. Intra-sentential switch:
She told me that CUANDO ELLA ESTABA AQUI (when she was
here) listening to records of Olivia, she saw my hair
a little bit red from the sun. (11/043)

My daddy always is PARQUEANDO EL CARRO (parking the car),
but now he's downstairs. (5/066)

(10a) shows a switch of an interjection, a freely moveable constituent which can be inserted almost anywhere in discourse, even with only minimal knowledge of L_2, without violating a grammatical rule of either language. (10b) shows a switch of a full sentence which requires much more knowledge of L_2 to produce, but hypothetically, not as much as is required to switch within the confines of a single sentence (as in 10c). In order to produce this latter type of switch, the speaker must know enough about the grammar of each language and the way they interact to avoid ungrammatical utterances.

In addition, the children display another type of code-switching behavior, which in fact accounts for 37% of all of their code-switches, and distinguishes them from the adults, for whom it represents only a small proportion (around 10%): switching of a single noun . This is exemplified in (10d):

10d. Single-noun Switch:

Oh, boy! Let me get a CHICLE! (piece of gum) (11/333)

Get off my D'ESO (whaddayacallit) first. (15/150)

That ain't no PICHITITO (pichoncito - little bird)
that's an owl! (03/005)

Figure 2 graphically displays the differences between the children and adults. As the children did not behave in a significantly different way when it came to switch types, we have grouped them together here. There were, however, great differences between the Spanish-dominant and bilingual adults; thus they are separated in the graph. As can be seen, the striking pattern of tag use characteristic of Spanish-dominant adults is not present in the children's data.

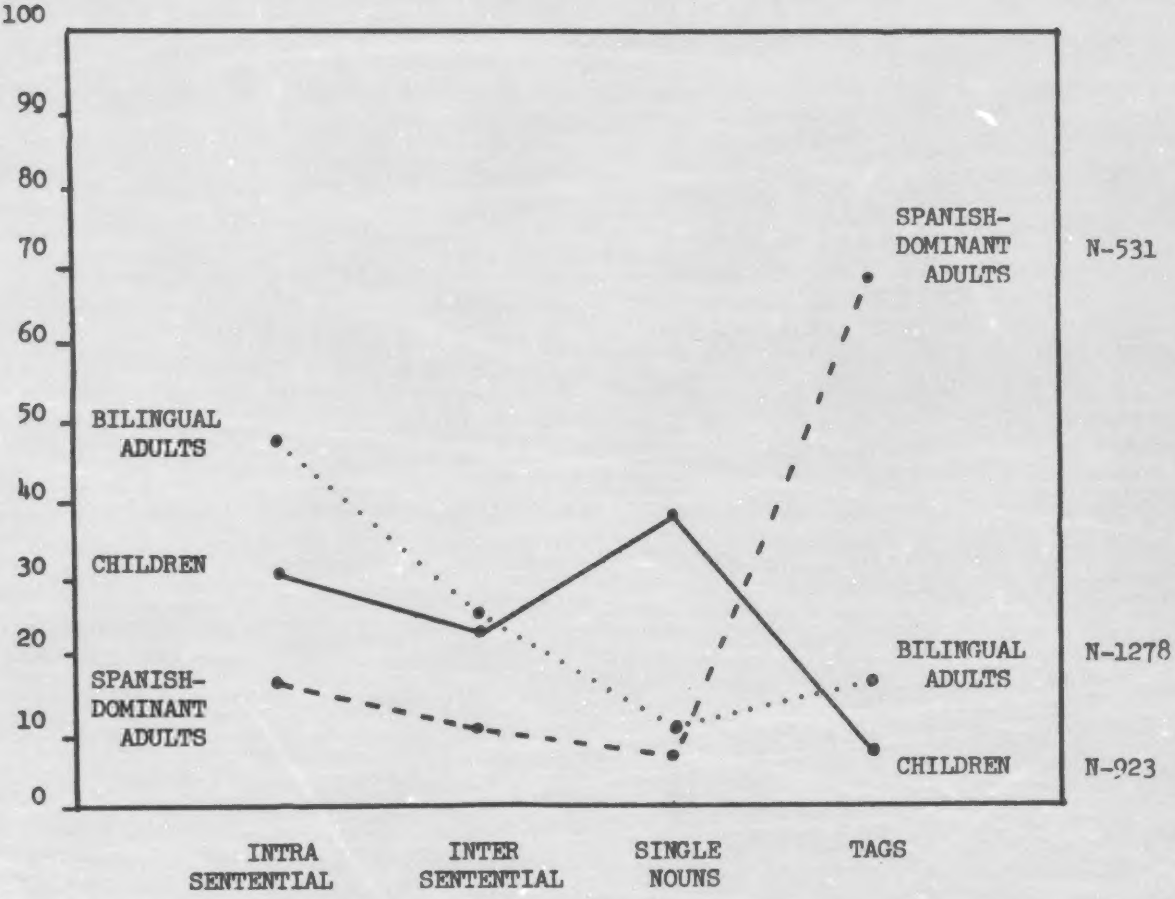


Figure 2 Proportion of different code-switching types for adults and children

But even though use of tags is very low among children, as it is among bilingual adults, the children use markedly fewer intra-sentential switches than do the bilingual adults. On the other hand, as already mentioned, they switch considerably more single nouns than any of the adults.

This appears to be an acquisitional effect in two respects. First of all, the degree of linguistic virtuosity required to engage in rapid intra-sentential switching is probably not yet fully developed among the children. Second, children may have difficulty in knowing or quickly recalling all vocabulary items, which would account for the large proportion of single-noun switches. Thus in contrast to the use of tags among Spanish-dominant adults, their single-noun switching is probably not a strategy for establishing solidarity with the interlocutor or showing off L_2 skills, but in large part, simply lack of immediate lexical availability in one of the two languages.

There may be an indirect link here with McClure's (1981) findings that very young bilingual Chicano children use more of what she calls "code-mixing," the inclusion of single items from one code into the discourse of another, while older children make greater use of "code-change," which essentially involves the alternation of larger elements of discourse such as major constituents or sentences. Zentella (1981) similarly found that switching skills appear to develop with age - older children do more switching and of more complex types. Even though our data do not permit reliable consideration of age as a factor, we do see the same patterns occurring in a more exaggerated form between the younger and older generations of code-switchers in this Puerto Rican community.

5.0 Conclusions

Thus, in contrast to the striking similarities between adult and child behavior we have seen Chapters 6 and 7 in the integration of loanwords into Spanish and their assignment to a gender, our analysis reveals that the younger generation diverges markedly from the older one in one aspect of code-switching behavior--the type of switch used. Although the children, like their parents, displayed an overwhelming adherence to the syntactic co-grammaticality constraints on code-switching, they were seen to prefer switching one particular type of constituent, single nouns, in contrast to their parents. This led us to suggest that a good deal (close to 40%) of the switching by children might be explained in terms of lexical availability rather than discourse strategy. This would make sense in view of the fact that children and pre-adolescents cannot be expected to have fully mastered the details of the social interactional competence possessed by their elders. This would have to be explored further before any definitive conclusion could be made. In particular, it would be necessary to check out whether the children know and use the other language equivalents for the words switched.

The differential behavior of the children with regard to loanword integration and gender assignment on the one hand, and code-switching on the other, may also reflect the differential linguistic nature of these processes. Gender is a fairly early acquisitional rule, acquired once and generalized thereafter. Loanwords are acquired on an individual basis, along with and in the same way as the rest of the lexicon. Code-switching, however, is a continuing maturational process similar to the development of stylistic and repertoire range. Code-switching of the intra-sentential type also requires considerable syntactic development of both languages, which children, due to their youth and stage of development, may not have yet developed. This may also suggest why there is a prevalence of single-noun switching among the children.

In closing, we would like to re-affirm that the children's code-switches (like those of the adults) represent only a small percentage of their overall utterances, and these switches (with few exceptions) do not disturb the grammaticality of the discourse. Thus contrary to what many doomspeakers in education feel to be the case, code-switching is not a 'degradation' of the language, nor a step towards loss of cultural and linguistic identity, but rather a very natural consequence of the interaction of a number of social and linguistic factors, and reflective of community-wide norms of interaction.

Notes

1. We will focus primarily on inter-language rather than dialectal code-switching, as this is the most immediately salient for the Puerto Rican community at this time. It is also the easiest to identify, as existing descriptions of New York Puerto Rican Spanish and English are far too incomplete to accurately specify dialectal switches.

2. In all cases where adjective placement and possessive formation are equivalent in English and Spanish, the children switched in a grammatical way; e.g., This thing's too ESCOTA'O (low cut) (15/509) and EL REAL hermano mío (my real brother) (12/069).

3. It should be noted here that the child's utterance is redundant in that he used the diminutive parquecito which already means 'little park.'

4. The stress patterns of the verbs in both (9b) and (9c) made it clear that they were Spanish verbs plus English past tense markers ('MOJA-ed and 'MANDA-ed), rather than the homophonic but differently stressed Spanish infinitive forms (MO'JAR and MAN'DAR).

5. This is not to say, however, that adults do not err or vacillate in gender assignment to native words. However, most such 'errors' are the result of irregularities in the gender system itself which make total mastery less than easy.

References

Blom, J. and J. Gumperz. 1972. Social meaning in linguistic structure: Code-Switching in Norway. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.). Directions in sociolinguistics. The ethnography of communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 274-310.

Gingràs, R. 1974. Problems in the description of Spanish-English intra-sentential code-switching. In G. Bills (ed.). Southwest areal linguistics. San Diego: Institute for Cultural Pluralism.

Gumperz, J. 1964. Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. In J. Gumperz (ed.). Language in social groups. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 151-176.

_________. 1971. Bilingualism, bidialectalism and classroom interaction. In Language in social groups. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 311-339.

_________. 1976. The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. Working papers of the Language Behavior Research Laboratory #46. Berkeley: University of California.

Hasselmo, N. 1972. Code-switching as ordered selection. In E. Finchow et al. (eds.). Studies for Einar Haugen. The Hague: Mouton.

_________. 1979. Code-switching and modes of speaking. In G. Gilbert (ed.). Texas studies in bilingualism. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co.

Haugen, E. 1972. The ecology of language. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Lance, D. 1975. Spanish-English code-switching. In E. Hernández-Chávez et al. (eds.). El lenguage de los chicanos. Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 138-153.

Language Policy Task Force. 1982. Bilingualism and bilingual education in a Puerto Rican Community. Final report to Ford Foundation.

Lipski, J. 1978. Code-switching and the problem of bilingual competence. In M. Paradis (ed.). Aspects of bilingualism Columbia, S.C.: Hornbeam Press, 250-264.

McClure, E. 1981. Formal and functional aspects of the code-switched discourse of bilingual children. In R. Duran (ed.). Latino discourse and communicative behavior. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing, 69-107.

Pedraza, P. 1982. Ethnographic observations of language use in El Barrio. MS.

Pfaff, C. 1975. Syntactic constraints on code-switching: A quantitative study of Spanish-English. Paper presented at the Linguistic Society of America, 50th Annual Meeting.

________. 1976. Functional and structural constraints on syntactic variation in code-switching. *Papers from the Parasession on Diachronic Syntax.* Chicago:Chicago Linguistic Society.

________. 1979. Constraints on language mixing. *Language* 55, 291-318.

Poplack, S. 1978. Syntactic structure and social function of code-switching. Working Paper 2. New York:Center for Puerto Rican Studies. In R. Duran (ed.) . 1981. *Latino discourse and communicative behavior.* New Jersey:Ablex Publishing, 169-184.

_________. 1979. Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL. Working Paper 4. New York:Center for Puerto Rican Studies. In *Linguistics* 18 (1980), 581-618.

Sankoff, D. and S. Poplack. 1980. A formal grammar for code-switching Working Paper 8. New York:Center for Puerto Rican Studies.

Scotton and Ury. 1975. Cited in M. Paradis (ed.). 1978. *Aspects of bilingualism.* Columbia, South Carolina:Hornbeam Press.

Shuy, R. 1974. Code switching in "Lady Chatterly's Lover." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association, New York City. ERIC ED 105 737.

Timm, L. 1975. Spanish-English code-switching:El porque y how-not-to. *Romance Philology* 284, 473-482.

_______. 1978. Code-switching in *War and Peace.* In M. Paradis (ed.). *Aspects of bilingualism.* Columbia, South Carolina:Hornbeam Press, 302-315.

Valdes-Fallis, G. 1976. Social interaction and code-switching patterns: A case study of Spanish-English alternation. In G. Keller et al. (eds.). *Bilingualism in the Bicentennial and beyond.* New York: Bilingual Press, 53-85.

______________. 1978. Code-switching as a deliberate verbal strategy: A microanalysis of direct and indirect requests among bilingual Chicano speakers. In R. Duran (ed.). *Latino discourse and communicative behavior.* New Jersey:Ablex Publishing, 95-107.

Weinreich, U. 1963. *Language in contact.* The Hague:Mouton.

Wentz, J. 1977. Some considerations in the development of a syntactic description of code-switching. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Zentella, A. 1981. 'Hablamos los dos. We speak both': Growing up bilingual in El Barrio. Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER NINE -- CONCLUSIONS

1.0 Summary

We have covered a great deal of ground in this report, and a summary of the overall findings is necessary to draw together the conclusions and implications of the work. Rather than go chapter by chapter, we will consider the related issues presented in Chapter One-language choice, language change, language use, and language learning - and what we now know about them as a result of our investigation. We will compare our results with those of other researchers and attempt to understand both the differences and the similarities. Finally we will explore the educational and policy applications of our findings.

2.0 Language choice

We have seen in this report that East Harlem is an emphatically bilingual community. Within its bounds live individuals ranging in language ability from virtually English monolingual to virtually Spanish monolingual, with the overwhelming majority being proficient in both to some degree. English and Spanish are used separately and together in a broad spectrum of settings, along with code-switching. This is not, however, the chaotic and unstructured state of affairs it might appear to be. Speakers must learn to use the different varieties within their speech repertoires appropriately, i.e. according to the particular requirements of social situations and interlocuters, as well as learn to manipulate these varieties creatively (see Chapter 3, section 4). Speakers also make conscious and unconscious choices as to how they present themselves linguistically, decisions governed perhaps as much by language ideology and cultural ideology as by ability.

The sixteen children examined here have, at an early age, already learned to make a number of linguistic choices, ranging from the selection of communicative mode necessary to accommodate others in social interaction, to the identification of self and others via specific linguistic features or varieties. We have been able to isolate a number of influences, sometimes competing, sometimes reinforcing, which appear to be directly or indirectly involved in the language choice of the children.

These can be grouped by levels into personal, home, peer, community-wide, and ideological or attitudinal factors (the last being operative across levels). In examining each, we must bear in mind the following:

1) each child is an individual who experiences his/her piece of reality somewhat differently than do other children - therefore certain influences may be more salient for one child than for others;

2) the relative significance of the influences may change as do the child's life circumstances and interests;

3) attitudinal or ideological biases tend to override other factors; and

4) no one factor in and of itself is sufficient to account completely for the language choice of the individual - rather it is the complex and dynamic inter play of influences that must be analyzed.

Key among the personal factors is the sex of the child. Girls tend to utilize both English and Spanish as well as engage in frequent code-switching, while boys favor English, especially if they are very involved in block life. This tends to reflect adult norms in this community and is corroborated by Zentella's 1981 findings for children of a nearby block. Age also plays a role, as young children tend to use and be addressed in Spanish. English use increases as the child matures. Finally, personality must be taken into account, as quiet, withdrawn children tend to favor the language of the home (usually Spanish), while more extroverted children select English or both languages.

Home factors are primarily regulated by parents and include habitual language of the home, television, amount of privacy and exposure to adult conversations, extended family and friendship influences, as well as parental decisions regarding the language of family interactions, selection of school program (bilingual or English monolingual),and access of child to peers of varying language preferences in and out of home.

Peer-factors generally override home factors, especially as children leave infancy. Those children who have strong peer contacts speak in ways reflective of the norms of their social networks (boys using English and girls using both languages). In contrast, the speech of those children tied more closely to home reflects the greater influence of the family. The amount of peer involvement is determined by degree of parental control, the age of the child, his status among his peers, the identity of his best friends, and the location of his home.

The broadest influences are those emanating from the community as a whole. These include the many linguistic possibilities present in the area and the amount of exposure the child receives to these, the nature of the child's interactions in the community (i.e. family-centered or individually-initiated), and the community-wide norms governing the use of language in particular settings and with particular interactants.

Influential at each of these levels are attitudinal and ideological factors like notions of comfort, expressiveness, utility, beauty, stigma connected to the different language varieties, along with the cultural, political and economic identification of the individual. The effect of parental and teacher attitudes on children must also be taken into consideration.

In general, the child in this bilingual speech community must develop a flexible communicative repertoire (or other means of getting by) in order to deal with the often conflicting demands of his linguistic environment. Any analysis of language choice must similarly be flexible and responsive to the dialectics of the many factors involved. It is our contention that only an approach which recognizes the variable and conflictful nature of language as a social entity and as an expression of the ever-changing needs and stages of development of speakers, can hope to assess accurately the relative strengths of different influences and predict the likely choices.

3.0 Language change

The Puerto Rican community has generally been viewed in terms of the traditional immigrant model of native language loss by the third generation (c.f. Fishman 1966, Fishman et al 1971). Within this paradigm, grandparents use the immigrant language, parents are bilingual, and children use the new language. Our work has demonstrated that, at least for this block in El Barrio, such a model is insufficient.[1] Rather than Spanish losing out to English and dying (as Gaelic did in the village described by Dorian 1979), Spanish has been maintained and English extended into new domains of use so that both languages are current in virtually all contexts.

What appears to be the case for this community is a shift in language use without loss of the Spanish language. The children have been instrumental in this process. As we have seen, there are a number of influences which seem to favor the use of English among the younger generation, and indeed the children do use and report considerably more English than do their parents or grand-parents. English is seen as important for off-block interactions and advancement in the larger society, and children tend to use a considerable amount of English (with code-switching) when playing among themselves.

However, as Zentella (1981) points out, a number of factors favor Spanish maintenance in the Barrio, including the "revolving door" pattern of migration characteristic of the Puerto Rican experience, the tendency toward in-group marriage, the availability of bilingual jobs in the community, the existence of dense and widespread family networks, and the economic reality of unemployment which places many individuals in interactions on the streets rather than in English-speaking work-places. Other factors which may affect different children to different degrees are visits to Puerto Rico, Spanish-speaking caretakers, enrollment in bilingual programs, identification with Puerto Ricanness and the Spanish language, and religion.

It is clear from our attitudinal studies that bilingualism is greatly valued in this community and that residents see the preservation and elaboration of Spanish along with acquisition and development of English as a necessity. The pattern among the children is one of admitting English along with Spanish into interactions which are carried out by the older speakers solely or predominantly in Spanish. In other words, these children, products of an increasingly bilingual community, see nothing wrong with utilizing the full range of their linguistic repertoire in a great many situations.

This could be seen as evidence for a kind of delayed language loss - perhaps rather than three generations, it will take four or five to make Spanish in this community follow the route travelled by so many other immigrant languages in the U.S. society. From our knowledge of the community (particularly of the behavior of the young adult members) and from other analyses carried out at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies regarding the economic bases of the population movement of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics (Bonilla and Campos 1981, Campos and Bonilla 1982), we see such an abandonment of Spanish as unlikely.

While children (and adolescents even more so) certainly move increasingly toward English, we have seen that adulthood (and in particular parenthood) tends to halt this progression as Spanish is resuscitated for child-rearing purposes and for more active interaction with the older adult population. In addition, bilingual education has become firmly rooted within this community, and more and more speakers will reach adolescence and young adulthood having been trained in both languages. It would seem that as long as there are speakers who are Spanish-dominant or virtually monolingual (and Hispanic immigration trends indicate that this will be the case for some time to come), as long as people maintain the traditions of accommodating older speakers and speaking to babies in Spanish, and as long as children continue to be schooled in both of their languages, Spanish will be maintained in this community.

There is another aspect of language change which must be considered, and that is internal change. What changes, if any, are occurring within the language varieties of the community? In this report we considered two closely related language contact phenomena - loanwords and code-switching - in an attempt to better understand how elements from two different languages are combined in bilingual interaction and what differences, if any, exist between the treatment of these elements by adults and by children. On the basis of the three studies undertaken, we have concluded that while the Spanish of this community is changing through admission of material borrowed from English, the integration of this material is in terms of Spanish phonological and grammatical rules. In the case of code-switching, the intercalation of the segments is accomplished within the grammatical restrictions of both Spanish and English. Furthermore, children and adults behave very similarly with the exception of some apparently acquisitional aspects of code-switching proficiency.

Thus we see that while the language varieties of this speech community are in change, there is a regularity and inter-generational continuity to the change process.

4.0 Language use

In this report we examined in detail the language use of the children in the settings of home, school, and block. This was done through long-term ethnographic observation along with administration of an interview instrument designed to ascertain speakers' awareness of their language use. The comparison of observed and reported use proved helpful in understanding the role of attitude or ideology in perception of language. The following patterns emerged.

In general, when interacting with parents and older relatives, children report and are observed to accommodate to the language preference of their elders. This means using primarily Spanish or Spanish and English together. Very young children are also dealt with primarily in Spanish; however, among older children, English plays an important role and may be heard more frequently than Spanish.

In school, the language used is determined to a great extent by the intended language of the school program - bilingual or English only. This language choice is reinforced by the perception of the teacher as authority figure, the fact that her/his language preference corresponds to that of the program, and the relative homogeneity of language use of students in each class which constrains the interactional possibilities given that most school friendships are among classmates. These patterns continue even during recess, as playground social groupings tend to reflect those in the classroom.

It is on the block that children experience the most linguistic freedom as well as the most exposure to Spanish and English, both separately and together, due largely to the fact that the adults who provide models for all of these language modes carry out much of their social interaction in public. Many of the code-switches analyzed in chapter 8 occurred during peer interactions on the block. It is our contention that language use on the block is the most sensitive indicator of the child's overall language preference. The choice of English or Spanish on the block depends, primarily as we have seen, on the sex, peer involvement, and activities of the child.

5.0 Language learning

There is much for a child living in a bilingual community to learn in order to communicate effectively and appropriately. In addition to acquiring the phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax of each of the varieties within the community's speech repertoire, he/she must learn to use more than one variety simultaneously (code-switch) and to integrate material borrowed from one into another with all the appropriate phonological and grammatical markers (e.g. gender). The child must also learn to evaluate his language varieties and the linguistic processes each undergoes in the ways that the adult community does (whether negatively or positively). Finally, he must make continual decisions regarding language selection in specific interactions (keeping within well-established community norms of respect), as well as make an overall selection as a means of personal and cultural identification.

That this can be accomplished is evident from the general congruency between adult and child language behavior in this community. And when we consider the age range of our sample, we see that it is all done at an early age. It is beyond the scope of this investigation to probe into how this learning is accomplished; however we can comment here that any language acquisition hypotheses ventured must take into account the critical role played by the speech community.

As we have seen throughout this report, the Puerto Rican community of East Harlem is densely populated and made up of predominately young, over-whelmingly poor or working-class people for whom a primary source of entertainment and information is the street. It is chiefly through public interaction that the norms of the community are transmitted and maintained. Given the extended family structure of the community in which all adults take on responsibility for child-care to some extent, children acquire these norms from a wide range of people who exemplify the linguistic diversity within the community.

Within the family setting, a language acquisition model must also take into account the close quarters which make adult conversation and interaction available to children from early on, as well as the constant flow of people in and out of the apartment.

Another aspect of language learning is the school, particularly given the widespread availability of bilingual education. The programs not only provide the children with instruction in literate forms of their language varieties but also exposure to dialects and language models not present in the local community.

6.0 Educational implications

This project was undertaken with strong educational and policy concerns in mind. Given the general crisis of public education in New York City and the ever-escalating attacks on bilingual education, we felt that it was of the utmost importance to have basic research findings witn which to inform decisions made about the education of

Puerto Rican children in East Harlem. We were particularly concerned that the linguistic patterns these children brought into the schools be seen as resources rather than obstacles to the educational process.

In reviewing the overall findings of the report, certain results emerge which may prove useful to practitioners in their daily work, as well as others which represent potential problem areas and should be examined closely. In addition, the report has spawned a number of questions which need to be addressed and will require the involvement of teachers and teacher trainers to ascertain solutions.[2]

6.1 Applications

There seem to be a number of clear applications for the information obtained in this project, particularly in the understanding of the children as individuals and as representatives of their community. By examining the lives of each child in the individual portraits, we were able to see how community-wide patterns of respect, teasing, accommodation,etc. were carried out on a daily basis. Many of these norms coincide with those promulgated in school, and teachers could probably benefit from investigating how such norms are maintained and passed on in the community so as to apply similar procedures in classroom management. Some of these norms, like those governing sex roles, may be targeted for change by the school, but regardless, their status in the community must be known thoroughly or problems are certain to arise.

An example of a community norm which can be productively put to work in the classroom is that of language distribution. The patterns we have seen to be current in the community can be utilized in class lessons to reinforce notions of linguistic appropriateness. If a goal of bilingual education is to provide children with communicative competence in their two languages, attention should be paid to the fine-tuned language selections made by the children outside the school. Such awareness on the part of the teachers (who may adhere to different norms themselves) can assist in the schooling of bilingual children (particularly those who are not fully fluent), or even monolinguals (if bilingual education is ever permitted to do what it is capable of achieving, which is developing all children bilingually).

The information we now have about community and school attitudes toward language and bilingual education can be used to sensitize teachers to the effects of their particular prejudices and those of the children and parents. Derogatory attitudes toward certain language varieties (e.g. Black English, Dominican or Puerto Rican Spanish) and overly positive attitudes toward others (e.g. Castilian or Colombian Spanish) may have negative effects upon the self-esteem and motivation of the students. Student biases should similarly be nipped in the bud and explained as the ideological phenomena that they are.

Similarly the attitudes about code-switching reported here can help teachers adjust practice to reflect the more relaxed attitude of the community at large. Such attitudes can be factually bolstered by the findings on the grammatical, regular, and rule-governed nature of code-switching and the integration of loan words. Notions of Spanglish, a-linguality, and imperfect learning can thus be debunked permanently, and criticism of children's language mixing can be more usefully restricted to questions of appropriateness.

Knowledge about attitudes toward bilingual education can be used to improve the understanding of the bilingual program and its goals on the part of all teachers in the school and thus increase the legitimacy with which the programs is seen by the outside world. It can also be utilized to build parent and community involvement in the program and in the school in general. Once parents comprehend what the program is intended to do and what it has been able to accomplish, much of the fear will evaporate, and assistance and support are more likely to be forthcoming.

Perhaps the most important thing teachers can obtain from these findings is the understanding that the school is only one of many agents for language teaching. This awareness can take some of the burden off the teachers; however, it also adds the increased responsibility of making active efforts to utilize community language resources to enhance the child's learning. The school's chief task then becomes one of the imparting literate forms of the children's language(s) in ways which are socially meaningful. Again the school is not the only agent of literacy, and practitioners should make an attempt to determine the literacy activities of the children outside of school and how best to utilize these in the classroom.[3]

6.2 Problems

Among the problem areas which must be addressed is language testing. In terms of ascertaining language dominance or proficiency, the lessons of this project are clear. There is a strong need for the teaching establishment to think seriously about what kind of proficiency is required for the completion of different tasks performed by the school, e.g. placement, entry/exit, evaluation, etc.

The child's proficiency can be checked via observation and reliance upon multiple rather than single tests. Highly deficient tests like the LAB (which we examined in chapter 5) should be retired and replaced with more suitable instruments or techniques.[4]

Any serious examination of testing should also address the social and political bases for testing. Why do we even worry about proficiency and dominance? How do we come to decide what is proficiency and why? What about monolingual English children? Upon what do we base our judgments about their language use? Why are the futures of children (bilingual or monolingual) decided in such terms? Unless attention is given to these and other question, the same problems described in this report will continue and multiply, and the children will be the ones to suffer.

Closely related to the testing issue is the question of how children are placed in bilingual and learning disabled classes. Our fieldwork and testing indicates that virtually all of the children have bilingual skills that should be developed in literate forms, and it is precisely those children who are placed in monolingual classes who cannot read or write comfortably in Spanish. Furthermore, none of the children in our sample are alingual or inarticulate, including those who were placed in learning disabled classes. Clearly some reassessment of the criteria for placement is required.

Another problem area involving language for children in both monolingual and bilingual classes is the failure of the classroom situation to provide opportunities for oral expression. For the most part, children are still restrained from speaking except when called on. This is true to some degree even in the lower grades despite the relative informality, but becomes more and more apparent as the children go up in grade until in the sixth grade, the children remain silent for the greater part of their classroom time.[5]

This "clamming up" of students during lessons is greatly bemoaned by the teachers, yet many times their very actions seem to foster such withdrawal on the part of their pupils. As we sat in the classrooms day after day, it became clear that for many of the teachers, silence is synonymous with order, discipline, and attention. In their efforts to achieve control over the class, some of the teachers appear to have lost sight of the implicit goal of teaching which is to draw out from the child his perceptions, and guide and inform these in such a way as to maximize the organization of new ideas and the development of fuller understanding of the world around him. This requires substantial language production which is impossible if the child is not permitted to express himself freely.

The problem does not appear to stem only from the actions of individual teachers. Perhaps more important is the organization of the curriculum which tends to emphasize the transmission of information on the part of the teacher rather than the reception and active utilization of that information by the student. The student is often a passive participant in the learning process, and passivity is habit-forming. Once the pattern has become set, any attempt on the part of the teacher to "wake-up" the children is often reacted to with even deeper withdrawal and silence.

Wax (1971) suggests that for the Native American child such silence may be part of an increasing rejection of "proper" school behavior as the peer networks become more important to the child.

Philips (1974), on the other hand, sees cultural differences in the perception and management of silence as being key. While these are both probably true in part for the Puerto Rican children of East Harlem, a more satisfying analysis is one which accepts and integrates all of the alternatives described here.

Within such an analysis, the children's silence is seen as a construct jointly created by the children and the teachers. Both contribute to the ratification and perpetuation of this behavior which has positive and negative repercussions for each. Such an approach is in keeping with that of the microethnographers who view all social behavior as social accomplishment. Our data do not permit more than mere speculation at this time; we defer a more in-depth analysis to a future investigation. However, it seems clear that ways must be found to allow children to speak as a necessary part of their learning.

6.3 Questions

As always happens, a report of this size tends to generate many more questions than it can answer. Among the most immediately salient are the following:

1. We have shown the disparities which exist between test results and actual language use, and the role of speaker attitudes and social situation in determining which language varieties and forms are manifested in a given interaction. We know that speakers make use of only certain features from within their communicative repertoire and that some language skills are only developed in passive forms which are sufficient for bilingual interactions. How can schools tap the receptive language abilities we know children have? Are there ways in

which the school setting can be manipulated in order to bring out other facets of the student's communicative competence which can be educationally beneficial?

2. Similarly, given the importance of peer influence on language choice, how can we utilize this factor to help the educational process? Can we train teachers to be sensitive to cultural norms regarding interaction between older and younger children and between girls and boys, for example? Can community patterns of respect, collective work and learning, shaming or insulting, etc., be integrated within the curriculum so that the children's peer orientations are developed without a concomitant loss of allegiance to community values and traditions?

3. We have shown that linguistically-speaking, language contact in this community has not resulted in any serious corruption or destruction of the two languages. However, how can we get at any hidden effects of language contact (e.g. convergence of ideology or world-view, c.f. Scollon and Scollon 1979)? Can this knowledge be utilized for educational development or even political struggle?

4. The perennial question, of course, is how much can we generalize what we have learned here to other communities? In many respects, this block exemplifies patterns of behavior, both linguistic and otherwise, that are typical of Puerto Ricans in any urban setting in the United States. However (as residents and outsiders alike have pointed out), the block is also unusual in that it has been more successful than most in weathering the physical and cultural attacks waged upon it by uncaring landlords who profit from acres of abandoned real estate, callous city administrators who only turn their

attention to the area to impose cuts in social services, and communicative media which persist in highlighting the negative and antisocial aspects of community life without investigating their causes, and refuse to see anything newsworthy in the day-to-day struggles of a people to survive under extremely adverse conditions.

5. This leads us directly to what is probably the most critical question to be considered--the future. We know from our work that this is a dynamic situation in which a large number of factors are operational. What are the likely outcomes if, for example, the children return to Puerto Rico, if bilingual education is terminated, if the Dominican and Colombian populations continue their growth explosion and dominate the previously Puerto Rican sectors of the city? Will the language shift we describe here so optimistically be able to ward off the language loss that so many feel is inevitable?

7.0 Conclusion

The questions outnumber the answers and lead to still other questions. It was out of the search for answers to such questions that this project arose, as did its predecessor. And without falling into the positivistic trap of thinking that it is through the mere accumulation of more and more facts that truth is attained and all problems solved, we will continue seeking. But even more important than the search is the application of the findings in socially productive ways that give people the means by which to change their lives.

One way of bringing school and community together in the search for an improved education for their children is to utilize the natural vantage points of each camp to obtain the in-depth knowledge necessary to make plans that are reasonable, practicable, and acceptable to all concerned. Ethnography provides one way to do this, as Heath (1981) was able to show for two towns in the Carolina Piedmont region, and ethnographic fieldwork and analysis definitely played a critical, indeed primary, role in the development of our understanding of the complex sociolinguistic dynamic of this speech community. The long hours spent in the streets, homes, and classrooms, talking with people, eliciting from them their perceptions of reality in their community, but mainly listening and sharing--all of this has revealed much that would have otherwise been inaccessible or difficult to obtain, and has allowed us to ask intelligent kinds of questions to be answered via other analytical methods as well as to comprehend the findings of such analyses.

It was due to our being physically on the spot and seeking the interconnections among the often seemingly unrelated behaviors we observed on a daily basis that we were able to see how such factors as the youthfulness of the community, its high population density, contact with blacks and other Hispanics, diversity of migration experience, and economic history could help explain both the linguistic variability and continuity of the community. Our postulation of a language usage cycle is the result of observation and familiarity with patterns of child-rearing, role change, and respect for elders. The isolation of sex and extent of peer contact as the key determinants of children's language preference comes similarly from direct contact with the children on the block and in their homes. And our understanding of the somewhat ambiguous role of the school in the language ecology of the community would not have been possible had we not spent so much time observing, discussing, and questioning within its walls.

Our experiences in this project led us to conclude that this type of approach to language research is a fruitful one, though not without its limitations. While ethnographic inquiry does strive to describe cultural behavior holistically (i.e. in terms of characteristics emerging from the whole), it does not tend to view the whole as both the producer and the product of the parts. It also does not question the categories which it creates (especially those which are claimed to be emic), their historical roots, their relation to present material conditions, their change, and the effects of conceptual developments on that change. There is furthermore a tendency within ethnography to freeze behavior into the never-changing present and to ignore history and the constant transformation of reality before our eyes.

We have not been immune to these limitations. However, as we move on to other work,[6] we hope to profit from our experience and increasing theoretical sophistication and remedy some of the weaknesses of the present effort. This report is offered then not as a definitive statement for the community, but rather as a source book from which can be drawn material for the planning and development necessary to bring about change. We only hope that we have done our job sufficiently well so that the community and school people can begin to do theirs.

Notes

1. This agrees with Zentella's conclusions for a neighboring block, which suggests that we can begin to speak more confidently of what is general to the entire community of el Barrio. As Zentella states:

   > It is precisely the complexity of linguistic patterns, of linguistic norms and their interpretation within the community that characterize the process of growing up bilingual in el Barrio. Attempts to judge or interpret this process via the principle of one language-one environment, or classic diglossia, fall short of capturing the diversity and strength of the language abilities of the children of the block. (144)

2. We have been engaged in meetings and workshops with teachers and teacher educators at Hunter College, Bank Street College, Teachers College Columbia University, and most recently are negotiating joint research efforts with the Lexington Avenue School for the Deaf.

3. We are at present seeking funding for a long-term investigation of literacy in this very same community and hope to be able to offer research findings for this purpose in the not-too-distant future.

4. The LAB is still being used in the primary schools (in a new though essentially unchanged form) and is apparently now being required by the state of New York for high school students of non-English speaking background.

5. We refer here primarily to actual lessons, in which "teaching" is visible in its most explicit forms. During independent work or free periods, subdued conversations among students are common, and sometimes during arts and crafts or exercise periods, the noise level is allowed to mount. (Needless to say, these were the best recording times for us along with the time spent in the lunchroom during which all bans on speaking are lifted, and the children burst out in full decibel force.)

   Sanchez (1981) found this to be true with Puerto Rican children in bilingual programs in Philadelphia.

6. In particular, as we explore alternative forms of social science analysis which are dialectical and materialist in nature.

References

Bonilla, F. and R. Campos. 1981. A wealth of poor: Puerto Ricans in the new economic order. Daedalus (Spring), 133-176.

Campos, R. and F. Bonilla. 1982. Bootstraps and enterprise zones: The underside of late capitalism in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Review 4 (Spring), 556-590.

Dorian, N. 1979. Language death: The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fishman, J. 1966. Language loyality in the United States. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, J., R. Cooper, and R. Ma. 1971. Bilingualism in the Barrio. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Heath, S. 1981. Ethnography in education: Toward defining the essentials. In P. Gilmore and A. Glatthorn (eds.). Ethnography and education: Children in and out of school. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Philips, S. 1974. The invisble culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Reservation. Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Sanchez, J. 1981. Untitled ms. University of Pennsylvania.

Scollon, R. and S. Scollon. 1979. Linguistic convergence: An ethnography of speaking at Fort Chipwyan. New York: Academic Press.

Wax, R. 1971. Doing fieldwork: Warnings and advice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zentella, A. 1981. 'Hablamos los dos. We speak both': Growing up bilingual in El Barrio. Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

APPENDIX A

Parents interview

Date:______________

Demographic information:

1. Name______________________ 2. Age_____ 3. Sex____ 4. Birthplace________________
5. Occupation_________________ 6. Where educated____________________________________
7. Kind of school_______________ 8. Years completed _________ 9. Years in U.S. ___
10. Years in NYC______ 12. Father's birthplace __________ occupation ______________
schooling ______________ 13. Mother's birthplace ___________occupation_____________
schooling___________________ 11. Why moved to NYC ? _______________________

Language attitudes:

14. Do you speak (English/Spanish)? Y N

15. Which language did you learn first? E S

16. How old were you when you learned (L_2)?____________

17. Do you use it much now? Y N

18. Which language do you feel you know best? E S

19. Where did you learn to speak Spanish?______________________

20. Do you think it's possible to learn Spanish as well here as in Puerto Rico? Y N

21. Can you read ____ and write _____ in Spanish?

22. Can you read ____ and write _____ in English?

23. Which language do you use when you talk with your:

father_______ friends___________
mother _______ boss______________
siblings________ co-workers__________
children_________

24. Would you say that the Spanish spoken by Puerto Ricans in the United States

is different from that spoken in Puerto Rico? Y N

Is it different from that spoken by Colombians? Y N

Is it different from that spoken by Dominicans? Y N

25. How would you describe it?____

26. If someone told you that you talked Spanish like a Puerto Rican, would you take

it as a compliment? Y N Why?______________________________

27. Should we teach this kind of Spanish in the schools? Y N

Why?____

If not, what kind?____

28. What is "good Spanish"?____

29. Would you say you speak it?   Y   N

30. What is "good English"?____

31. Would you say you speak it?   Y   N

32. Is there anything you can say in one language that you can't say in the other?   Y   N

For example?____

33. Do you ever mix the two languages?   Y   N

For any special reason?____________________________________

Do you know anybody else who does?   Y N

How do you feel about it?____________________________________

Do your children ever do it?   Y   N

Do you mind?   Y   N

34 Does the way Puerto Ricans speak English sound like the way blacks speak?   Y   N

How?____

Does it sound like the way whites talk?   Y   N

How?____

35. How do you think people who aren't Puerto Rican feel about Puerto Ricans?________

____

36. Do you think it might have anything to do with the way Puerto Ricans talk?   Y   N

How so?____

Education

37. People say you learn more outside of school than inside. What do you think? ________

____

38. So then, how important is going to school for getting a good job?________________

how about for making alot of money?________________

39. Can education change what people think of Puerto Ricans?   Y   N

Anything else?____

40. If you had a choice, what kind of school would you send your child to? ____public ____parochial _____other

Why? ____

41. Have schools changed since you were a kid? Y N

How? ____

42. Were you allowed to speak Spanish in class? Y N

43. What language do you speak to your kids? E S

44. Would you like your kids to speak a language besides E / S ? Y N

Which? ____________ Do they? Y N

Why? ____

45. What would you say is a good reason for your kids to learn Spanish? ______________

____

How about for getting a good job? Y N for making Puerto Rican friends? Y N for talking to family members who don't speak English? Y N for doing better in school? Y N

46. What would you say is a good reason for your kids to learn English? ______________

____

How about for getting a good job? Y N for making non-Puerto Rican friends Y N for talking to family members who don't speak Spanish? Y N for doing better in school? Y N

Bilingual education:

47. Do you have a child in a bilingual program? Y N

Did you want him to be there or was he placed there? ______________________

Are you happy with where he is? Y N Why? ______________________

48. Can a child get something in a bilingual program that he can't get in an "English-only" program"? Y N

What? ____

49. Is a bilingual education program supposed to teach Spanish itself or just use it

until the child learns English? ______________________________

Is that a good idea? Y N Why? ______________________________

50. Does the bilingual program in your child's school do a good job? Y N DK

51. Is this the best way for a child to learn Spanish, or is there a better way (e.g. at home, in church, with grandparents)? ______________________________

52. What do you think of a non-Puerto Rican teacher teaching Spanish to your kids?

______________________________ Why? ______________________________

53. Lots of older immigrants in this country are proud of the fact that they learned English without any "special treatment". Do you think bilingual education is special treatment or is it a right? ______________________________

54. Many people say that if you come to this country, you should talk and act like everybody else (e.g. speak only English). What do you think? ______________________________

____

Entrevista con los padres

A5

Fecha____________

Información demográfica:

1. Nombre______________ 2. Edad _____ 3. Sexo___ 4. Lugar de nacimiento__________
5. Ocupación___________ ocupación de esposo(a) ______________
6. Donde educado(a)_________________ 7. Tipo de escuela _______________
8. Años cumplidos ____ 9. Años en Estados Unidos ______ 10. En NY ______
11. Por qué se mudó a NY? _________________________________
12. Lugar de nacimiento de padre _______________
Ocupación _______________
Educación _______________
13. Lugar de nacimiento de madre _______________
Ocupación _______________
Educación _______________

Actitudes sobre idioma:

14. ¿Ud. habla (inglés / español)? S N

15. ¿Cuál idioma aprendió primero? I E

16. ¿Cuántos años tenía cuando aprendió (L$_2$)?_______________

17. ¿Lo usa mucho ahora? S N

18. ¿Cuál de los dos idiomas cree Ud. que sabe mejor? I E

19. ¿Donde aprendió hablar el español?_______________

20. ¿Cree que es posible aprender el español tan bien aquí como en Puerto Rico? S N

21. ¿Puede leer ____ y escribir ____ en español?

22. ¿Puede leer ____ y escribir ____ en inglés?

23. ¿Cuál idioma usa Ud. cuando habla con su:

padre _______________
madre_______________
hermanos_______________
hijos_______________

amigos__________
jefe__________
compañeros de trabajo__________

24. ¿Ud. diría que el español hablado por los puertorriqueños en EU es distinto del que se habla en Puerto Rico? S N

¿Es distinto del español que hablan los colombianos? S N

¿Del que hablan los dominicanos? S N

25. ¿Cómo lo describiría?_________________________________

26. Si alguien le diría que Ud. habla como un puertorriqueño, ¿lo tomaría como un cumplido? S N ¿Por qué?_________________________________

27. ¿Deberemos enseñar esta clase de español en las escuelas? S N

¿Por qué?______________________________

Si no, ¿qué clase?______________________________

28. ¿Cómo describiría Ud. el "español bueno"?____________________

29. ¿Ud. diría que lo habla? S N

30. ¿Cómo describiría Ud. el "inglés bueno"?____________________

31. ¿Ud diría que lo habla? S N

32. ¿Hay algo que se puede decir en un idioma y no en el otro? S N

¿Por ejemplo?______________________________

33. ¿Ud. de vez en cuando mezcla los dos idiomas cuando habla? S N

¿Por alguna razón especial?______________________________

¿Conoce a alguien mas que lo hace? S N

¿Cómo le parece a Ud.?______________________________

¿Lo hacen sus hijos? S N

¿Le molesta a Ud.? S N

34. ¿La manera de hablar inglés de los puertorriqueños suena como la manera de hablar de los negros americanos? S N

¿En qué, p. ej.?______________________________

¿Suena como la manera de hablar de los blancos? S N

¿En qué, p. ej.?______________________________

35. ¿Qué opinion de los puertorriqueños cree Ud. tiene la gente que no es puertorriqueña?

____

36. ¿Cree Ud. que tiene algo que ver con la manera en que hablan los puertorriqueños? S N

¿En qué?______________________________

Educación:

37. Hay personas que dicen que uno aprende mas fuera de la escuela que dentro.

¿Qué piensa Ud.?______________________________

38. Entonces, ¿qué tan importante es asistir a la escuela para conseguir un buen trabajo? ______________ para ganar mucho dinero? ____________________

39. ¿Ud. cree que la educación puede cambiar lo que piensan los demás de los puertorriqueños? S N

40. Si Ud. pudiera escoger, ¿a qué tipo de escuela le gustaría mandar a sus hijos?

___pública ____católica ________otra

41. ¿Han cambiado las escuelas desde que Ud. era niño(a)? S N

¿Cómo?____

42. ¿Le permitían hablar español dentro del salón de clase cuando Ud. era niño(a)? S N

43. ¿Qué idioma usa Ud. con sus hijos? E I ambos

44. ¿Le gustaría que sus hijos hablaran un idioma además del (inglés/español)? S N

¿Cuál idioma?______________ ¿Y de hecho lo hablan? S N

¿Por qué?____

45. ¿Cuál diría Ud. es una buena razón para aprender el español para sus hijos?

____

¿para conseguir un trabajo bueno? S N ¿hacer amigos que son puertorriqueños? S N ¿hablar con miembros de la familia que no hablan inglés? S N ¿tener mas éxito en la escuela? S N

46. ¿Cuál diría Ud. es una buena razón para aprender el inglés para sus hijos?

____

¿para conseguir un trabajo bueno? S N ¿hacer amigos que no son puertorriqueños? S N ¿hablar con miembros de la familia que no hablan español? S N ¿tener mas éxito en la escuela? S N

Educación bilingüe:

47. ¿Ud. tiene un hino en un programa bilingüe? S N

¿Ud. quería que asistiera a clases bilingües o fue contra sus deseos? _______________

¿Ud. está contento(a) con el programa? S N ¿Por qué?_________________________

48. ¿El programa de educación bilingüe tiene beneficios que no se encuentran en un

programa de "inglés solo"? S N

¿Qué son?____

49. ¿El programa de educación bilingüe está supuesto enseñar el español en si, o solo usarlo hasta que el niño aprenda el inglés?________________________

¿Le parece buena idea eso? S N

¿Por qué?____

50. ¿Es efectivo el programa bilingüe de la escuela de su hijo? S N NS

51. ¿Es esta la mejor menera de aprender el español para el niño, o hay una manera superior (p.ej. el hogar, la iglesia, los abuelos)?__________________

52. ¿Qué le parece si una maestra que no es puertorriqueña enseña español a sus hijos?

____

¿Por qué?____

53. Muchos de los inmigrantes que llegaron a EU hace mucho tiempo están orgullosos de que aprendieron el inglés sin cualquier "tratamiento especial". ¿Ud.cree que la educación bilingüe es una forma de tratamiento especial o es un derecho?__________________

____

54. Mucha gente dice que si uno viene a este país, uno tiene que hablar y actuar como los demás aquí. (p. ej. hablar solo inglés). ¿Qué piensa Ud.?__________________

____

APPENDIX B

Interview with children Date________________

Demographics:

1. Name__________________ 2. Age______ 3. Birthplace __________________
4. Did you ever live anywhere else? Y N Where?____________________

____

____

5. How old were you when you moved to this neighborhood? ____________________

6. Where was your father born?___________ What language does he speak? E S

7. Where was your mother born?___________ What language does she speak? E S

8. Who else lives at home with you?____________________ What language do they speak? E S

9. Did you ever live in Puerto Rico? Y N Would you like to ? Y N

Why?____

Have you ever visited Puerto Rico? Y N When?____________________

School:

10. What do you like most about P.S. 72? ____________________

11. What do you hate most about P.S. 72?____________________

12. Did you ever go to any other school? Y N Which one? ____________________

Was it better than 72? Y N

13. Have you ever been in a (bilingual/English only) class? Y N

14. If you had your choice, which would you rather be in? B EO

Why?____

15. What language does your teacher use in class? (for what different reasons, etc.)?

____

16. What would happen if you used another language? (under any circumstances?)_______

____

17. Do your parents ever read to you? Y N What?____________________

In what language? E S

18. Do they ever help you with your homework? Y N

Language usage:

19. Can you speak Spanish/English? Y N

20. Which language did you learn first? S E

21. Where did you learn it? (who taught you?)____________________

22. What about (the other language)?____________________

23. Which language do you use with your:

parents E S
brothers and sisters E S
grandparents E S

friends in school E S
on block E S
teachers E S
Mr. Rodriguez E S
Ms. Astondoa E S

24. Can you remember every time you spoke Spanish today?(like from the time you woke up?)____________________

____

____

25. Can you remember every time you spoke English today?____________________

____

____

Language attitudes:

26. Would you like to speak better Spanish/English than you do? Y N

Why?____________________

27. What is good Spanish/English?____________________

Who speaks it?____________________ Do you? Y N

28. How come you do/don't speak such good Spanish/English? ____________________

____________________ Do you think you would speak better if you were in a class that used only Spanish/English? Y N

29. If someone said you talked like a Puerto Rican, would that make you feel good? Y N

Why?____________________

30. Which language do you like to talk best? E S Why?____________________

____

Is there anything you can say in that language that it's hard to say in the other language? Y N What, for example?____________________

All

31. Does anybody in your family make you talk (the other language)? Y N

Who?________________ Does that bother you? Y N Why?__________________________

What about in school? Is there anybody you have to talk (the other languge)to Y N

Who?________________ (If teacher) do you get mad at that? Y N (If kid) would you want to be friends with a kid like that? Y N

32. Is there anything you say in English/Spanish that your mother always corrects? Y N

your teacher? Y N What?____

33. Are there some people who you try to speak a different kind of Spanish/English to?

Y N Who?____

34. When you're talking, do you ever mix up the two languages? Y N

Do you think that's a good thing to do? Y N

What does your teacher say?____

Does she ever do it? Y N

What do your parents say?____

Do they ever do it? Y N

35. Is being Puerto Rican different from being another kind of American? Y N

Is it different from being another kind of Hispano? Y N

36. Do you think a Puerto Rican kid should know how to speak Spanish? Y N

So, how come there are some who don't?__________________________________

____

37. Would you want to be friends with someone who couldn't speak (the other language)?

Y N Even if it was a black kid? Y N A white kid? Y N

Anybody else? Y N

38. Is there anything special/different about the way black kids talk? Y N

What?____

Do you wish you could talk like that? Y N

39. What do you want to be when you grow up?________________________

Do you think knowing Spanish would help you? Y N English? Y N

40. What do you want your kids to talk? E S

41. Who's your best friend?________________ Who can't you stand? ________

(ask language dominance if unknown)________________________

42. Who's the smartest kid in the class?__________ Could a kid like that hang out with you and your friends? Y N

43. If your teacher got called out of the room, who in the class would she leave in charge? __________ Why?____________________

Is that fair?________________________________

44. If you got into a really bad fight, who would you want to help you out? ________

Why?______________________________________

45. If you could be anybody in the whole world, who would you be?______________

(if unknown, ask identity and language dominance) Why?______________

____

II. Dreams

Do you ever remember your dreams? Like what?

Did you ever have a really scary dream? What happened?

Did you ever have a dream that came true? What was it?

If you tell someone your dream, can it come true?

Do you ever dream about people you know?

Did you tell them about it?

What language do you dream in?

Do you dream in color or in black and white?

Do you ever walk or talk in your sleep?

Do you know anyone who does?

What do you do when you can't get to sleep?

III. Danger of Death

Did you ever have something happen to you so that you almost died? You know, when you said to yourself: "This is it, it's all over."? What happened? Were you scared?

Did you ever see a terrible accident or a really bad fire? What happened?

How did people act? Were you scared?

Do you know anyone else who was in a bad accident or almost died? What happened?

Why do you think bad things happen to people?

Is there some way of protecting yourself to keep bad things from happening?

(If kid is wearing something, ask:What does that do for you?)

Is there somebody who could hurt you without even touching you? Did you ever hear about something like that? What could you do if that happened?

Do you ever think about dying? Are you afraid?

What do you think will happen to you when you die?

Entrevista con los niños Fecha____________________

Demográfica:

1. Nombre____________________ 2. Edad________ 3. Lugar de nacimiento_____________________
4. Alguna vez viviste en otro sitio? S N ¿Dónde?_______________________________
____
____

5. ¿Cuántos años tenías cuando te mudaste a este bloque? __________________

6. ¿Dońde nació tu padre? _________________ ¿Qué idioma habla? I E

7. ¿Dónde nació tu madre? __________________¿Qué idioma habla? I E

8. ¿Quién mas vive en casa contigo? ___________________________ ¿Qué idioma hablan? I E

9. ¿Alguna vez viviste en Puerto Rico? S N ¿Te gustaría? S N

¿Por qué?____

¿Has visitado a Puerto Rico? S N ¿Cuándo?_______________________________

Escuela:

10. ¿Qué cosa te gusta mas de P.S. 72?____

11. ¿Qué cosa odias de P.S. 72?____

12. ¿Fuiste alguna vez a otra escuela? S N ¿Cuál fue?___________________

¿Era mejor que 72? S N

13. ¿Has estado alguna vez en una clase (bilingüe/de inglés solo)? S N

14. Si pudieras escoger, ¿en cuál de las dos preferías estar? B IS

¿Por qué ?____

15. ¿Qué idioma usa tu maestra en clase? (¿para qué razones, etc.)?__________________
____

16. ¿Qué pasaría si tú usaras otro idioma? (bajo todas circunstancias?)_______________
____

17. ¿Tus padres te leen? S N ¿Qué leen?_______________________________________

¿En qué idioma? I E

18. ¿Te ayudan con tus asignaciones? S N

Uso de idioma:

19. ¿Puedes hablar español/inglés? S N

20. ¿Cuál idioma aprendiste primero? E I

21. ¿Dónde lo aprendiste? (¿quién te enseñó?)____________________

22. ¿Y el otro idioma?____________________

23. ¿Qué idioma usas con tus:

padres I E
hermanos y hermanas I E
abuelos I E

amigos en escuela I E
en bloque I E
maestros I E
Sr. Rodríguez I E
Sra. Astondoa I E

24. ¿Te recuerdas de cada vez que usaste el español hoy? (¿del momento que te despertaste?)____________________

____

____

25. ¿Te recuerdas de cada vez que usaste el inglés hoy?____________________

____

____

Actitudes sobre el idioma:

26. ¿Te gustaría hablar el español/inglés mejor que lo hablas ahora? S N

¿Por qué?____________________

27. ¿Qué es el español/inglés bueno?____________________

¿Quién lo habla?____________________ ¿Lo hablas tú? S N

28. ¿Cómo es que tú lo hablas/no lo hablas tan bien?____________________

____________________ ¿Crees que lo hablarías mejor si estuvieras en una clase que usa solo español/inglés? S N

29. Si te dijera alguien que tú hablas como un(a) puertorriqueño(a), ¿ te alegraría? S N

¿Por qué?____________________

30. ¿Qué idioma te gusta hablar mas? I E ¿Por qué?____________________

____

¿Hay algo que tú puedes decir en ese idioma que te es dificil decir en el otro?

S N ¿Qué, por ejemplo?____________________

31. ¿Hay alguien en tu familia que te hace hablar (el otro idioma)? S N

¿Quién?_______________ ¿Te molesta? S N ¿Por qué?__________________________

¿Y en la escuela? Hay alguien allí que tú tienes que usar (el otro idioma) con ellos? S

¿Quién?________________ (si es maestra) ¿te molesta? S N (si es niño) ¿te gustaría ser amigo de un niño como ese? S N

32. ¿Hay algo que tú dices en español/inglés que tu mamá siempre corrige? S N

¿tu maestra? S N ¿Qué es?____

33. ¿Hay algunas personas que tú tratas de hablar otra clase de español/inglés con ellos? S N ¿Quiénes son?____

34. Cuando estás hablando, ¿mezclas los dos idiomas de vez en cuando? S N

¿Crees que es una buena cosa? S N

¿Qué dice tu maestra?____

¿Lo hace ella? S N

¿Qué dicen tus padres?____

¿Lo hacen ellos? S N

35. ¿ Es ser puertorriqueño distincto de ser otra clase de americano? S N

¿Es distincto de ser otra clase de hispano? S N

36. ¿Crees que un niño puertorriqueño debe saber hablar español? S N

Entonces, ¿por qué hay algunos que no saben?_________________________________

____

37. ¿Te gustaría ser amigos con alguien que habla (el otro idioma)? S N

¿Hasta si fuera un negro? S N ¿Un blanco? S N

¿Alguien mas? S N

38. ¿Hay algo especial/distincto en la manera en que hablan los niños negros? S N

¿Qué es?____

¿Te gustaría hablar así? S N

39. ¿Qué quieres ser cuando seas mayor?______________________________

¿Crees que el saber el español te ayudará? S N ¿inglés? S N

40. ¿ Qué idioma quieres que hablen tus hijos? I E

41. ¿Quién es tu mejor amigo? ______________ ¿Quién no puedes ver?____________

(pide el idioma dominante si no se sabe)______________________

42. ¿Quién es el niño/la niña mas listo(a) de tu clase? __________ ¿Un(a) niño(a) como ese puede jugar contigo y con tus amigos? S N

43. Si tu maestra tuviera que salir de la clase, ¿quién de la clase escogería ella para velar a los demás? ______________ ¿Por qué?________________

¿Es justo eso?______________________________

44. Si te metieras en una pelea bien mala, ¿a quién te gustaría que viniera a ayudarte?

__________ ¿Por qué?______________________________

45. Si pudieras ser cualquier persona en todo el mundo, ¿quién serías? ____________

(pide el idioma dominante si no se sabe) ¿Por qué?____________________

____

Informal conversation topics for children

I. Games

1. Boys

ball games (stickball, off-the-wall, handball, catch, basketball, football, soccer)

What kind of ball is best? Who owns one?

(If bat needed) what do you use for a bat?

Do you choose teams? How? Who would you choose for your team?

Where do you go to play? Is there a particular time of the year you play?

What position do you like to play? (if applicable)

What's your favorite teams?(if applicable)

DJ chants or rhymes

Do you know any of these? (e.g.

I was walkin' through the jungle
With a mike in my hand
I was the baddest DJ in all the land
I look up a tree and guess who I see
A punk-assed nigger named Starsky.
I said-a one, I just begun
I said-a two, I freak with you
I said-a three, I'm Starsky
I said-a four, I'll fuck some more
I said-a five, Don't gimme no jive
I said-a six, Suck my dick.
I said-a seven, I went to heaven
I said-a eight, Fuck straight
I said-a nine, A bottle a'wine
I said-a ten, Let's do it again.

When I die, bury me
Hang my balls in the
cherry tree.
And when they grow
You let me know
So I could rock on the
stereo.

Yesh, yesh, y'all
A freak-a freak, y'all.
To the beat, y'all.

I went downtown to buy a piece of butter
I seen George's mother sittin on the gutter
I took a piece of glass and shoved it up her ass
I never seen George' mother run so fas'

You go two four six eight
A-Cliffy-Cliff, a-don't you hesitate
Yesh, yesh, y'all, to the beat, y'all
A-rock a-rock, y'all
An' you don't stop
I'm a Cliffy-Cliff and I'ma on the go
I'm gonna crash crash your steroe
Oh, yesh, yesh

(see complete list for others)

2. Girls

jumprope (La Cuica, Brincar la Soga, Dar la Soga)

What songs or rhymes do you use? Do you know any in Spanish?

Do you know any of these? (e.g. All in together, girls
Fudge, fudge
Jack Be Nimble
Gypsy Gypsy Rosalie)

Do you ever jump Double Dutch? How do you do that?

Do you ever do Chinese Jump Rope? How do you do that?

Do you ever jump Hot or Red Pepper? What's that mean?

hand clapping games

What songs or rhymes do you use?

Do you know any of these? (e.g. Miss Mary Mack, Mack, Mack
A Sailor went to sea, sea, sea
Miss Lucy
Pattycake
Who stole the cookie from the cookie jar?)

hopscotch (La Peregrina)

How do you set up the board?

What do you throw? (potsie, checker, etc.)

Are there any special rules you have to help you win?

3. Both boys and girls

hide n' seek (Esconder, Escondite)

How do you pick the one who's 'it'?

How high do you have to count before going and finding everyone?

tag (Toca, Jao)

How do you pick the one who's'it'?

What do you use as 'home base'?

Do you ever use 'electricity' to get a man to home base? How do you do that?

Do you ever play running tag, freeze tag, chinese tag, and any other kind of tag?

How do you play those?

skellies (skelsies)

How do you set up the board?

What do you use to throw? What's the best way to throw?

Who's the best player on the block?

Would you play with a boy or a girl? Why?

pinball

Where do you play? Why not some other place?

Which is your favorite machine? Why?

What's the best way to win? Does tilting the machine help?

What's your highest score?

Who's the best player on the block?

pool (billar)

Where do you play? Why not some other place?

Who do you play with? Other kids? Adults?

Who's the best player on the block?

volleyball

Where do you play? On the block, who sets up the net? When?

Who can play? Kids? Adults?

How do you choose teams?

frisbee

Who owns a frisbee? Where do you play? Do you play any special games with it?

roller skating (patinar a ruedas)

Who owns skates? Where are you allowed to skate? Did you ever go to a roller disco?

bike riding (andar a bicicleta)

Who has their own bike? Do you get to ride? Where? How far are you allowed to go?

swimming (nadar)

Where do you go swimming? Do you know how to do the different strokes?

playing in hyrant (pump)

What kinds of things can you do under the water?

Do you ever use a tin can or garbage lid?

Can you ever be too old to play under the pump?

water balloons (globos)

Where do you get the balloons? Where do you fill them up with water? What do you do with them when they're filled? Did you ever get in trouble for throwing them at someone?

firecrackers (petardos)

Where do you get the firecreackers? Are there different kinds? What's your favorite? Did anything bad ever happen when you were playing with firecrackers?

other games

○ Expand discussion

APPENDIX C

Teachers interview Date__________

Demographic information:

1. Name ____________________ 2. Age __________ 3. Sex _____ 4. Birthplace __________

5. Teaching grade level __________ 6. Where educated ____________________

7. Type of school educated in __________ 8. Years in US __________

Language attitudes:

9. Do you speak any language other than English? Y N What?__________

10. Which language did you learn first? ____________________

11. How old were you when you learned the second language?__________

12. Do you use it much now? Y N

13. Which language do you feel you know best?__________

14. (If applicable) Where did you learn to speak Spanish? ____________________

⑮ Do you think it's possible to learn Spanish as well here as in Puerto Rico? Y N
How so?

16. (If applicable) What language do you use with:

father________
mother________
siblings________
children________
friends________
boss________
fellow teachers________

⑰ Would you say the Spanish spoken by Puerto Ricans in the U.S. is different from that spoken in Puerto Rico? Y N DK
How?
Is it different from that spoken by Colombians? Y N DK
From that spoken by Dominicans? Y N DK

18. How would you describe it?____

19. (If applicable) Is it different from the way you speak Spanish? Y N
How?____

20. (If applicable) If someone told you that you talked Spanish like a Puerto Rican, would you take it as a compliment? Y N Why?____________________

21. Should we teach this kind of Spanish in the schools? Y N
Why?____
pro & con
If not, what kind?____

22. Do you think that non-Puerto Rican teachers can teach Spanish effectively to Puerto Rican students? Y N

Why? ______

23. (If applicable) How do you feel about using educational materials prepared for children who aren't Puerto Rican? ______

Why? ______

24. Is there such a thing as "good Spanish"? Y N

How would you characterize it? ______

O 25. Would you say that you speak it? Y N

26. Is there such a thing as "good English"? Y N

How would you characterize it? ______

27. Would you say that you speak it? Y N

28. Do you think that there are some things that you can say in one language that you can't say in another? Y N

For example? ______

29. (If applicable) Do you ever mix Spanish and English? Y N

e.g.? what is it? def? talking with the same person in the same conversation?

Why? reason for doing it? ______

Would you say this is common? Y N

How do you feel about it? ______

Do any of the kids in your class ever do it? Y N

when?

Why? ______

Do you think this should be allowed in the classroom? Y N

Why? ______

How about outside of school? Y N

Do you ever do it in the classroom? Y N

For what specific purpose? ______

30. Would you say that the way Puerto Ricans speak English is influenced by the English spoken by blacks? Y N

How? ______

Does it sound like it?

Why do you suppose that is? ______________________

How do you feel about it? ______________________

Would you say that the way Puerto Ricans speak English is influenced by the English spoken by whites? Y N

How? ______________________

Why? ______________________

How do you feel about it? ______________________

㉛ How do you think U.S. society feels about Puerto Ricans? ______________________

____

Do you think it might have anything to do with the way Puerto Ricans talk? Y N

How so? ______________________

Education:

32. How long have you been teaching? ______________

How many of those in P.S. 72? ______________

How does this school compare with others? on student performance (e.g. reading)?

______________________ discipline? ______________________

Why is that? ______________________

33. Would you send your own kid to a school like this? Y N

Why? ______________________

34. What kind of school did you go to? ______________________

How does it compare with this one? Are there things tolerated here that wouldn't have been tolerated in your time? ______________________

____

35. Have you had a chance to talk with the parents of all the kids in your class? Y N

Do they seem inter-ested in helping with their kids' education, e.g. would you say that they feel education is important in their kid's lives? Y N

What should be the role of a parent in a child's education? ______________________

____

Do you think these parents are able to fulfill that role? Y N

Why? ____________________

Bilingual education:

36. Do you teach have you ever taught a bilingual class? Y N

Do you have children who don't belong in your class? Y N

Why? ____________________

Do you know of other children who should be in your class and aren't? Y N

Why? Why not? ____________________

37. What do you perceive as the purpose of bilingual education? ____________________

____

Is it effective for that purpose? Y N

Is a bilingual education program supposed to teach Spanish? ~~in itself~~/ or just use it until the child learns English? ____________________

Is that a good idea? Y N Why? ____________________

Is this the best way to learn Spanish, or is there a better way? ____________________

____

38. Should bilingual education programs continue to be funded? Y N

39. Do you yourself have a child in a bilingual program? Y N

Did you want him to be there or was he placed there? ____________________

Are you happy with where he is? Y N

40. Can a child kid get something in a bilingual program that he can't get in an "English-only" program? Y N What? ____________________

41. What language do you speak to your kids? at home ____________________

Would you like your kids to speak any other language besides that? Y N

Why? ____________________

Could speaking another language improve their life chances? Y N

Specify. ____________________

42. Lots of older immigrants are proud of the fact that they learned English without "special treatment". Do you think that bilingual education is a form of special treatment or is it a right?____________________

Why?____________________

43. Many people say that if you come to this country you should talk and act like everybody else (e.g. speak only English, etc.). What do you think?____________________

____

Appendix D: Stroop Test

We followed Lambert (1972) in adapting a psychological instrument, the Stroop test (Stroop 1935), for use with bilingual subjects. This is not actually a test of language dominance but has been shown to distinguish different types of bilingual speakers. While we cannot compare its results directly with those of the other instruments considered in this report, we can utilize it to confirm the differences in language ability found between children in bilingual and monolingual classes.

In our version, the test consists of 23 large cards. The first card contains 24 color patches which the subject is asked to name as quickly as possible in each language. The next three cards contain 12 object words in English, each of which is printed in one of the six colors which appear in the color patches. The following eight cards contain 30 color names in English, also printed in different colors. These are followed by a similar set of object words and color names in Spanish.

The task involves the naming of the colors of the letters in each of the two languages. For instance, a stimulus of RED printed in blue ink during the English run calls for an answer of "blue" rather than "red". The problem lies with the distraction offered by the color words. The subject must resist the automatic tendency to read the words instead of naming the colors. In addition, the subject has to respond in the required language regardless of the language of the words themselves, so that a stimulus of Red printed in blue during the Spanish run calls for an answer of "azul" not "rojo," "red," or "blue".

The test allows us to assess the cognitive interference or confusion produced by the simultaneous activation of the decoding and encoding processes within the same language and between two languages for two different kinds of stimuli - object and color words. We would expect to find the greatest interference in the cases where the processes are simultaneously activated within the same language (RED in blue yields "blue" and ROJO in blue yields "azul") rather than when they involve different languages (RED in blue yields "azul" and ROJO in blue yields "blue"). The assumption is that it is easier to filter out a distractor from the other language than it is to filter out a distractor from the same language. We would also expect that there would be greater interference from color words than from object words. Thus, it should be easier to answer "blue" for BROTHER printed in blue than for RED printed in blue. These facts also make the Stroop potentially useful in distinguishing bilinguals, by relative proficiency, the assumption being that the speaker will perform least well in his dominant language, given that he will constantly be distracted by the printed words. It was to confirm this potential that we chose to administer the Stroop to our children.

Lambert and other investigators at McGill used this test with samples of balanced bilinguals in an attempt to ascertain the differences between "compound" and "coordinate" bilinguals, in other words those brought up in a thoroughly bilingual environment from infancy where both languages were used interchangeably as opposed to those who learned L_2 later on in life in circumstances where the two languages were kept separate. They found that there was a marked increase in interference (as indicated by increased time of completion) from the color patches to object words to the color words. There was some indication that compound and coordinate bilinguals were distinguishable by their ability to filter out the other language, coordinates being more able due to their greater functional separation of the two languages. The results also indicated that there was indeed less distraction from other language decoding than from same language decoding.

Our sample differed significantly from that used in the Canadian studies. First of all, we were looking at children, not adults, and certain developmental aspects had to be taken into consideration (e.g. proficiency with color terms, familiarity with test situations, reading ability, etc.). Furthermore, our children are not all balanced bilinguals, and given the complex bilingual nature of the Puerto Rican community in East Harlem, they cannot be classified as "compound" or "coordinate" in terms of language acquisition patterns alone. There is considerable variation in individual families, and most of the children would fall somewhere between the two poles or would be differentially classified according to speech situation.

We ran into a variety of problems in attempting to use this test as a measure of language dominance. One problem had to do with the imperfect mastery of color terms in both languages on the part of some of our children, which tended to throw off their results.

In some cases the deficiency was only in the language in which they were less proficient; however, in others, the children lacked a complete color vocabulary even in their stronger language, and became confused or resorted to code-switching to resolve their problem. In such cases, the color patches were used as a pedagogical tool to try and fill in the gaps and ensure the ability to continue with the test.

Another problem involved the length of the test, even though our version is considerably shorter than Lambert's and dramatically shorter than Stroop's original format. Some of the children found the task to be very enjoyable and whizzed through, but they were in the minority. For most it was extremely tedious. Perhaps in the future it would be best to take it in two parts. (Our children ranged from 4 minutes and 56 seconds to 22 minutes and 49 seconds for completion of all parts with an average time of about 9 minutes.

A more serious problem which may invalidate the results of the test has to do with the fact that not all the children have developed literate skills in Spanish, and some have not had their literate skills developed in English due either to their young age or to genuine learning difficulties. If a child does not respond to a written stimulus in one or both of the languages, then that stimulus cannot serve as a distractor, and interference will be minimal. Such a child flies through the exam with very little trouble and good time, yet his performance can hardly be compared to that of his biliterate counterpart. The key limitation of the test is thus its emphasis on literate skills in both languages.

In Table 1 we can see the amount of time it took each of the children to complete the different tasks in English and Spanish. The data is somewhat patchy because it was not possible to administer this test to Indio, Conejo, or Baby; Iris and Chico could not handle the English part; and Pito felt unable to do either part. Gordito did both parts, but as can be seen by his scores, he took an inordinate amount of time in almost all tasks (especially in Spanish) — as a result, we will not count his scores in the calculation but merely present them here for the sake of completeness. In addition, the tester inadvertently neglected to administer the Spanish object and color words in English to Josie and Dorcas and the English color words in English to María which resulted in further holes in the table.

Despite the lack of complete data, there are nevertheless certain trends which emerge. If we examine the performance of each group in English and Spanish, we see that there is very little difference in the time taken by the children in the bilingual classes for any of the tasks except for the color patches. In contrast, the children in the monolingual classes took much longer to do the Spanish part than the English. This is what we would expect given their different patterns of school instruction. Both groups were slower on the color patches in Spanish than in English, the monolinguals somewhat more so than the bilinguals. The slowness in Spanish for the children in bilingual classes is somewhat surprising and points to some unequal development in the naming of colors for these children.

Table 1

Time in seconds required to complete Stroop tasks in English and Spanish for children in bilingual and monolingual classes

	ENGLISH						SPANISH					
	color patches	Eng. obj. wds.	Eng. color wds.	Sp. obj. wds.	Sp. color wds.	Totals	color patches	Eng. obj. wds.	Eng. color wds.	Sp. obj. wds.	Sp. color wds.	Totals
bilingual classes												
Iris	-	-	-	-	-	---	84	77	162	55	99	477
Josie	30	12	110	-	-	152+	60	25	145	40	240	510
Dorcas	35	10	75	-	-	120+	50	10	120	15	100	295
Chico	-	-	-	-	-	---	71	52	95	37	129	384
Indio	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	---
Flaquita	30	41	109	35	92	307	44	26	74	24	86	234
Juanita	62	57	141	52	138	450	75	60	75	39	115	364
Herminio	39	26	67	19	84	235	34	25	113	32	78	282
Conejo	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	---
Avg. time	39	29	100	35+	105+	253+	60	39	112	35	121	364

Table 1 - continued

	ENGLISH						SPANISH					
	color patches	Eng. obj. wds.	Eng. color wds.	Sp. obj. wds.	Sp. color wds.	Totals	color patches	Eng. obj. wds.	Eng. color wds.	Sp. obj. wds.	Sp. color wds.	Totals
monolingual classes												
Pito	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	---
Gordito	(27	24	106	21	98	276	211	165	319	94	244	1033)
Baby	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	---
Ramón	20	24	76	25	24	169	56	29	82	35	30	232
Debbie	23	20	55	27	45	170	33	33	55	27	38	186
Linda	20	13	49	13	30	125	44	16	53	13	46	172
María	20	29	-	21	61	131	24	15	44	15	67	165
Avg. Time	21	22	60	22	40	149	39	23	59	23	45	189

The slowest times for the bilinguals in either language are with the Spanish color words, and for the monolinguals, with the English color words. This is in keeping with the design of the test which is intended to be most difficult when the distractors are in the dominant language. So when the children in the bilingual classes see ROJO in blue ink, they find it difficult to respond in either English or Spanish (i.e. say "blue" or "azul") because of the overriding influence of the Spanish word ROJO on them. Similarly, the children in the monolingual classes find it taxing to say "blue" or "azul" when they see RED in blue ink. The fact that the children patterned this way shows that the test is correctly distinguishing between the two groups.

Comparing the two groups in the time needed for each task, we find that the children in the monolingual classes were able to complete all parts faster than the children in the bilingual classes, regardless of language required for response. The only likely explanation for this speed, even in Spanish, their weaker language, is that the monolingually schooled children are somehow better able to shut out the distractors, much as the coordinate bilinguals in Lambert's (1972) study. Indeed, it may be that these children who use only English in class and whose Spanish is restricted primarily to the home and church are comparable to coordinate bilinguals, while the others who use both languages interchangeably in and out of school can be likened to compounds. However, as this whole distinction is severely questioned in current research, we will not attempt any further analysis along these lines.

Age also appears to make some difference in performance time. Linda and María, the oldest of the children in monolingual classes, are clearly quicker than the others, as is Herminio, the eldest of the children in the bilingual program. This is only suggestive, as the data is indeed limited; however, it should be verified in future studies, as it seems reasonable that the older the speaker, the more able she/he is to handle this kind of complicated metalinguistic task.

However, it is not sufficient to look merely at the length of time taken in completing the Stroop tasks; there must also be some assessment of the accuracy of the responses, the nature of the errors, and the nature of any corrections. Table 2 indicates the number of mistakes committed by the children in each language for the different tasks.

The greatest number of errors (62%) came in the Spanish part of the test, and the children in the bilingual classes were responsible for the majority of these (60%). On the English part, the children in the monolingual classes committed somewhat more errors than did the children in bilingual classes. This provides further evidence that the more proficient the speaker is in a particular language, the more confused she/he will be when the distractors are in that language. In other words, the more mistakes, the better his ability in that language.

The kind of mistakes must also be taken into account, and here again, performance in each language is sharply distinguished. Most of the errors in Spanish were among the younger children and seemed

Table 2

Number of errors committed in each language for different tasks by children in bilingual and monolingual classes

	ENGLISH						SPANISH					
	color patches	Eng. obj. wds.	Eng. color wds.	Sp. obj. wds.	Sp. color wds.	Totals	color patches	Eng. obj. wds.	Eng. color wds.	Sp. obj. wds.	Sp. color wds.	Totals
bilingual classes												
Iris	-	-	-	-	-	---	8	5	7	3	9	32
Josie	0	0	1	-	-	1	1	0	0	0	3	4
Dorcas	0	0	3	-	-	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
Chico	-	-	-	-	-	---	6	2	8	1	7	24
Indio	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	---
Flaquita	0	1	1	0	2	4	0	1	0	0	2	3
Juanita	2	3	2	4	5	16	4	3	4	3	9	23
Herminio	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	0	1	5
Conejo	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	---
Total	2	4	7	4	8	25	19	11	23	7	32	92

Table 2 - continued

	ENGLISH						SPANISH					
	color patches	Eng. obj. wds.	Eng. color wds.	Sp. obj. wds.	Sp. color wds.	Totals	color patches	Eng. obj. wds.	Eng. color wds.	Sp. obj. wds.	Sp. color wds.	Totals
monolingual classes												
Pito	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	---
Gordito	0	0	1	0	1	2	10	4	5	2	6	27
Baby	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	---
Ramón	1	0	6	0	0	7	3	1	3	2	4	12
Debbie	0	1	6	2	1	10	9	0	3	0	0	12
Linda	0	0	3	0	0	3	1	0	2	0	1	4
María	0	3	5	1	3	12	0	0	4	0	5	9
Total	1	4	21	3	5	34	22	5	17	4	16	64

to be due to a lack of familiarity with color terms, not the influence of the written stimulus. Commonly confused terms were amarillo/azul, amarillo/verde, and verde/azul. Some children used grin, yelo, and blu as answers. These errors occurred regardless of school program, which is somewhat disturbing considering that mastery of color names is part of the kindergarten curriculum and explicitly tested for on the Level 1 LAB test.

The errors in English were generally precisely those the test is meant to generate. In other words, children would say the color or object name printed on the card rather than the color the word was printed in. Many were corrected accurately. All of the children, regardless of school program, knew the English color terms without hesitation.

To sum up, we have seen that while the Stroop cannot assign individual dominance ratings like the other tests examined, it is capable of distinguishing those children instructed in both languages from those taught only in English through as assessment of task completion time and number and nature of errors.

APPENDIX E --GAMES CHILDREN PLAY

We were able to observe the children in many different play situations, both in and out of school. The children pass their free time in a variety of play forms, some very formalized, others strictly ad hoc, many traditional, and still others original or adapted. Some of the games are primarily physical in nature--an outlet for pent-up energies, an opportunity for muscular exultation, an expression of kinetic impulse. (This is especially true of the games played in the school yard at lunchtime.) Some of the games (like playing "house," "school," "doctor," "cops and robbers") involve the copying of adults and the internalization of social role expectations. Others (like the telling and acting out of horror stories or fairy tales) are oriented toward the fantastic, the supernatural, the dreamed-of and the feared in life. Finally, some of the games contribute directly to the development of physical and intellectual skills which may be called upon during adult life.

The games range from the vigorous to the sedentary; however, all are unmistakably urban in nature and tailored by the restrictions of space and materials of an urban environment. It is in this adaptation to the necessities of their material surroundings that the children display their inventiveness, flexibility, and resilience. The majority of the games represent time-honored traditions which have been transmitted from one generation of city children to the next, regardless of ethnic background. Few could be called uniquely

Puerto Rican, although even the most "American" of the games can be played in Spanish.[1]

Both the choice and the form of the games played can vary according to the sex and age of the children involved. They can vary according to the recency of arrival of the child (for those born in Puerto Rico) or the primacy of island culture and folklore in the homes. There is also tremendous variation between the games played in school (teacher-taught or supervised) and those played on the block.

Without a doubt, there is considerable variety in the structure of play forms among these children. Such forms have their inherent interest as basic forms of socialization; however, our specific concern here is the relation of these games to the linguistic repertoires of the children. To this end, we will describe the games and indicate their sociolinguistic aspects. We will consider in turn street games, home games, and school games. A description of the games and their rules is attached.

Street games

Most of the street games are group-oriented, though all can be modified for dyadic or even solitary play. Ball games of all types predominate in this category, although most are informal or modified versions of better-known forms and make use of the special features of inner city existence. For example, baseball or softball in its classic form is almost unknown among elementary school age children (though one of the boys in our sample is a frequent observer of his step-father's community softball league, and many follow professional leagues on television). The game has been adapted in the form of stickball which takes into account the asphalt environment and the lack of proper equipment. Stickball is completely restricted to boys in our sample, and almost without exception, the terms used during games are in English or adapted from English into Spanish (e.g. cachar, pichar, ining, bate, escore, shortstop, etc.).[2] This is true even of the most recent arrivals from Puerto Rico where such terms are in common usage.

Basketball is one of the few games that has its origin in the city and was designed with an urban environment in mind. Only one of our children (the eldest boy) plays with any frequency, although even the very youngest (both male and female) are introduced to the game in school, and given the tough, street-wise image associated with basketball players (particularly blacks), many of them express interest and respect for the game and its players. As with stickball, the basketball played by these children is miniaturized, involving in most cases only half-courts and single baskets. Only rarely are teams drawn up by these children, although this will undoubtedly change as they mature and enter junior and senior high school where both the population and the facilities will enhance teamwork. Generally, only the older boys have access to basketball courts outside of school, as travel to parks or clubs off the block is required. As with stickball, the language of play is generally English, though code-switching can be observed.

Volleyball can sometimes be seen on the block during the summer months when the storefront church strings up a net and some of the block residents join the predominately off-block members of the congregation in games or start their own. Both boys and girls can play. In general these games are in English, especially when outsiders are participating, though again this is not a hard and fast rule, but rather depends on the composition of the group playing. The game is not a major activity on the block.

A more popular game is handball, and its variant paddleball, played in its more formal, highpowered variety by adolescents and young adults either against the school wall or in handball courts at nearby parks. (Interestingly enough, some of the best players are female, and mixed doubles are common). The younger children play a form of handball off the walls of their buildings or off the steps (or off the parked cars or passersby depending on their skill). There does not appear to be any firm language requirement for this game, and again group composition appears to be the deciding factor in language selection.

Football was not observed on the block, though the conversations of both boys and girls indicate an awareness of the game and some attention to televised professional games. None of the children in our sample own a football, while all own some type of baseball or tennis ball. We also did not observe any soccer games, though there may be some following within the community.

The simpler ball games (catch, 'my name is Alice,' boxball, etc.) are much in evidence, especially among the younger children and the girls. Language choice is again determined by the preferences and proficiencies of the participants. Many different varieties of games like tag and hide n' seek are common, especially among the younger children. They need not be restricted to the street and can be observed in the homes and in the schoolyard as well. Skellies is another favorite and open to all ages and both sexes though mainly played by boys. A permanent skellies board is painted on the street, and children sometimes have a lucky checker or bottlecap they faithfully play. Children also get involved in frisbee throwing, roller-skating, bike riding, shooting off firecrackers, throwing water balloons, swimming (at the park or in a portable pool on a truck bed called the swimobile which is brought around to different blocks as a community service), and playing in the spray of the fire hydrant. Participation in these pastimes depends on individual interest and availability of funds[3] (for the pool, the firecrackers, and the balloons) or availability of materials (very few children own bikes or skates, but those who do share them with the others when they feel kindly disposed).

Pinball and pool facilities also exist on the block. The former is very popular with most of the children who would spend a lot of time in the candy store when it was open and now congregate in the pinball gallery. Pool is more restricted to adolescents and adults, and is played in the social clubs.

Home pastimes

All of the children are avid T.V. watchers, spending at least three hours a day in front of the set, particularly during the school year, and even on the nicest summer days some children can be found indoors glued to cartoons or situation comedy re-re-runs. Some are also addicted to the Spanish language soaps or novelas their mothers follow and some of the Spanish variety shows. Primarily, however, their T.V. intake is in English.

This is also true of radio. Listening to popular hit tunes in English on the radio (or on taped cassettes) and playing records is very popular, especially among the older children. The children sing along, sometimes lip synch with their favorite singers, move rhythmically, occasionally even dance (mainly the girls). Some recite DJ raps memorized from records. None of the children in our sample own records in Spanish or turn on Spanish stations; however, some of them have learned some popular Spanish songs at least in part (due mainly to parental teaching, though in one case to the influence of a new friend fresh from Puerto Rico).

Roleplaying games like "house," "school," "doctor," etc. are very popular among the girls and occasionally their younger male siblings. Some of these games become very elaborate with complete costume and props. Others are very simple and depend more on imagination. All involve extensive pantomime, acting, inventiveness, and lots of verbalization. One of the most interesting things about these kinds of games is that the children use language in socially appropriate ways while acting out real life scenes. Not only do they assign language to speakers on the basis of ethnicity, social function, etc. (e.g. English to a teacher, or policeman, or doctor, and Spanish to a small child, grandmother, recent arrival from the island, etc.), but they are also able to designate proper dialect and register (the children can mimic foreigners[4] and non-native English; they can imitate black English forms, British English, and even southern American English; they can also reproduce teacher and parent registers along with exaggerated forms of child speech (respectful, obnoxious, baby talk, etc.).

Other indoor entertainment includes drawing, reading, playing with toys (dolls, cars, guns, etc.), horsing around (jumping on beds, running with pets through apartment, screaming in halls to hear echos, etc.), and playing with or caring for infant siblings. All of this play may be carried on in either language; however, among siblings or peers the tendency is to use English and code switch into Spanish when needed or desired.

School games

The games taught to the children in school and the games the children play on their own in the schoolyard are quite distinct for the most part from those played at home or on the block. The school games tend to be more formalized and more group oriented. At the same time there is a frenetic quality to the lunchtime play and gym classes which does not appear on the block. This is probably due to the children attempting to shake off the constraints of the school day in a very brief time--the sense that life is short and to be enjoyed before the drudgery of lessons begins again for the afternoon. Their sheer numbers may also produce this effect.

Children are clearly segregated by age and sex on the school playground, something which does not necessarily happen on the block. In general, the younger children play in the small play area which belongs to the housing project adjacent to the school, and the older children play in the schoolyard proper. However, there are discrete male play groups which are exceptions to this general rule. An older boys' group (fifth and sixth graders) practices running and a form of tag along the far side of the small play area, away from the equipment used by the younger children. A younger boys' group (second and third graders) occasionally plays off-the-wall or throws a football or frisbee around on one side of the large play area. This group will also run round and round the school building when permitted.

The very youngest children (kindergarten and first grade) are not permitted to go out at lunch,and play in their classrooms or in the small gym instead. Their play revolves around toys and books, some role playing, lots of singing led by the teacher, and circle games like Duck, Duck Goose, Froggie on a Lily Pad, Go in and out the window, etc. The children use their stronger languages in interacting with one another. Most of the games and rhymes taught by the teachers at this level are in English, regardless of the program.

The second and third graders tend to play in the small playground climbing the monkey bars, sliding down the sliding board, bouncing a ball off the school wall, or playing some variant of tag. Girls and boys play together though it is more usual for the boys to be the ones involved in the ball play.

Among the older children, there is a clear separation of the sexes. Girls tend to gather on either side of the large play area and talk, play jumprope (several varieties), and handclapping games. There is also a hopscotch board painted near the small play area. It is rare to see a boy involved in such games. These games are almost entirely restricted to English, which may be a factor of the girls' ages (the influence and attraction of English growing more powerful as adolescence approaches).

NOTES

1. The fact that the children do not appear to know many Puerto Rican games may be important in the eventual future of Puerto Rican language and culture in the U.S. One bilingual fifth grade teacher expressed great concern over this very question:

> Los niños están perdiendo aquí...se está perdiendo mucho la cultura nuestra en cuanto a los juegos. Los niños aquí no saben jugar. Ciertos juegos...que va. ¿Pero quién se los va a transmitir? (71-S-162b-481)

It remains to be seen exactly how vital the transmission of play forms is to the maintenance of a culture, both linguistically and otherwise.

2. Pousada remembers one occasion when she entered a game involving two of our sample boys. The boys were completely surprised that she could catch and hit, yelling in disbelief "Ella sabe cachar". (She knows how to catch!)

3. The obtaining of funds is a pastime in itself as only one of our children is in the position to earn money. The others have learned to extract loose change from obliging adults in order to finance games and candy. We were soon spotted as easy marks in this regard. On one occasion Iris was particularly persistent in her begging, trying without luck with every passing adult. Finally Juanita, ever the critic, told her to beg from their mother or else go play a number. (S-039b)

4. The children are particularly fond of imitating Chinese or other Asian speakers who they encounter in the fruit markets of the area. Gordito offered us this linguistic analysis: "The people that are like Chinese sometimes they speak like this cause they lost their voice. God took it away from them. They go like this: "Habuchi, habulibushi, habuchi guta bota, keshulikulubola." (S-1266:052-072)

GAMES CHILDREN CITED OR WERE OBSERVED TO PLAY

on block or on playground

ball games

stickball
off-the-wall
handball
catch
basketball
volleyball

tagging games

tag
freeze tag
Hot Peas and Butter
monster tag
Fuego, fuego
La vieja

leader games

Simon Says
Red light--green light
Follow the leader

handclapping games

Tortita
Pattycake
Miss Lucy
Chitty Chitty Bang Bang

miscellaneous

frisbee
rollerskating
bike riding
pinball
firecrackers
water balloons
swimming
pool
dancing

hiding games

hide-n-go-seek
Hot Peas and Butter

jumprope games

All in Together, Girls
Pizza, Pizza, Ravioli
Ahí en japon
My mama told me

finger plays*

Que linda manito
Pom pom

sedentary games

puzzles
cards

"board" games

hopscotch
skellies

GAMES

in classroom

circle games

Duck, duck, goose
Papa caliente
Mexican Hat Dance
London Bridge
The Lovely Princess
Little Chickadee
Froggie, froggie
Go in and out the window

sedentary games

cards
puzzles
tic tac toe
knock hockey

leader games

Simon Says
charades

finger plays

Ten Little Indians
Mr. Thumbkin
Yo tengo tres ovejas...

RULES FOR LESS FAMILIAR GAMES

Hot Peas and Butter

(also known as Hide the Belt)--one player is "it" and hides a belt or other object--when he yells "Hot peas and butter", the others start searching for the belt--the one who locates the belt chases the others back to "home" whipping them with the belt as they run--whoever gets caught becomes the new "it"

Fuego, fuego

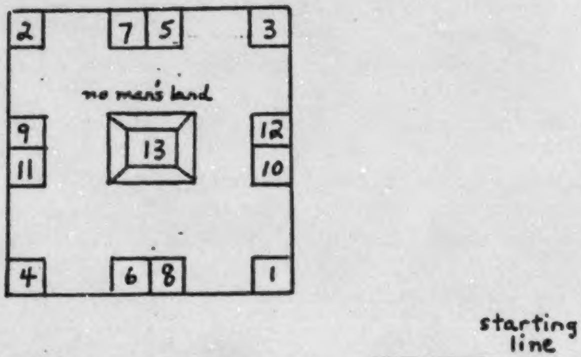
(Fire, fire)--one player is "it" and yells "Fuego, fuego"--the others ask "A donde?" and he gives a location--all run to that location with "it" chasing behind--whoever gets caught is new "it"

La vieja

(The Old Lady, also known as Doña Juana or Doña Ana)--one player is Doña Juana and lies down pretending to be dead--the others gather round her and ask "¿Cómo estás, Doña Juana?"--she does not reply until they have asked several times and gotten very close to her--then she answers "Muerta!" in a ghost-like voice and rises like a corpse and chases them--whoever gets caught is the new Doña Juana

skellies

(also known as skelsies)--this is played by two or more players on a board chalked on the street or sidewalk--see diagram below--the object of the game is to flick bottle caps or checkers over the diagram following the numbers in ascending order--if the player lands in the no mans land around the number 13, he is forced to return to the starting line--once 13 is reached, then the player follows the numbers in descending order--the winner is accorded a special title



The Lovely Princess, Little Chickadee, Froggie, froggie, and Go in and out the window

these four circle games are all played in the same way as London Bridge--there is a song which tells a story and the players act out the story as they go round and round in the circle--sometimes special characters are in the center

APPENDIX F: PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS ANALYSIS OF LOANWORDS
(Supplement to Chapter 7)

To reiterate slightly, we undertook a principal components analysis in order to better visualize the relationships implicit in the loanword data by projecting the multi-dimensional data down to a low-dimensional sub-space. We utilized this approach to explore the significance of the first four principal components in terms of their relationship to our 20 indices, and to identify the one or two components along which most of the variance occurs.

Here we will explain in greater detail than was possible in the text how we arrived at our conclusions regarding the mechanisms for loanword assimilation.

If we look once again at Figure 1, the projection of the indices on the space defined by the first two principal components,we see a tight clustering of the indices within each of the four groups identified by our initial examination of the correlations of the indices in Table 2. In addition, the somewhat elevated correlations in Table 2 between the English-use cluster at the upper right-hand quadrant of Figure 1 and the integration cluster just below it, show up in terms of the relative proximity of these two groups of indices. Indeed, the first principal component falls in between these two clusters, with the English-use indices having somewhat higher scores on it than the integration cluster. Thus this component seems to be made up largely of a combination of the indices in the two clusters, with the English-use indices predominating. We thus interpret this component as the major axis of assimilation of English loanwords into Spanish.

Another feature of Figure 1 is the proximity of the gender consistency cluster, the multiple-response cluster, and the Total(types) index at the bottom of the figure. In fact, the second principal component, which we call the diverse-response axis, seems to be determined largely by this set of indices. The proximity of these clusters, however, could not readily be predicted from the figures in Table 2, though the moderately elevated correlations involved are not inconsistent with the configuration. Though the association of Total(types) and the multiple-response cluster is directly interpretable in terms of the definitions of the indices (the more multiple responses, the more likely a diversity of types), the relationship to gender consistency is not. As we shall show later, however, this association is an indirect artifact of index definitions and the questionnaire methodology. One hint of this explanation is to be found in the absence of any correlation between one of the gender consistency indices - use weighted consistency - and the elements of the multiple-response cluster.

We note as well in Figure 1 the distance of Total(no response) in the upper left quadrant from Total(tokens) in the lower right quadrant, as was predicted by their negative correlations.

The apparent grouping of Proportion(English types), Proportion (English first choice)/Proportion(English tokens), and Proportion (most frequent English type)/Proportion(English tokens) in the upper central part of the figure is somewhat surprising and is not the result of any similarity among the indices, since they are only marginally or even negatively correlated. Their proximity is a consequence of each one's position being determined by a large number of small or negative correlations with the indices in two or more clusters (i) to (iv).[*] Such spurious groupings are a shortcoming of principal components analysis, but may be detected by reference to the correlations and by examining further components.

Figure 2 is a plot of the second and third principal components. The major features are the integrity of the four main clusters, the continued position of the integration cluster between the English use and multiple-response clusters, and the clear disassociation of the gender consistency cluster from the multi-response cluster and Total(types). Note the particularly high value of Use-weighted consistency on the third component, close to the value of Proportion (most common English type). The spurious grouping apparent in Figure 1 is also dispersed when the third dimension is added.

---

[*] Proportion(English types) is positioned by virtue of its negative correlation with the integration and gender consistency clusters. Proportion(English first response)/Proportion(English tokens) is positioned high in the first quadrant by virtue of its negative correlations with all elements of the gender consistency and multiple-response clusters and its moderate correlation with the English use cluster. Proportion(most common English type)/Proportion(English tokens) is independent (near zero correlation) of most of the other indices and is positioned as a function of its high negative correlations with the multiple response cluster and Proportion(English types).

The fourth component, which we need not display graphically, sharply distinguishes the integration cluster from most of the other indices, including the ones in the English-use cluster.

In summary, from studying the relationship of the 20 indices to the principal components, the following picture emerges. The first component, the major axis of loanword assimilation, is related to various indices both of English use and phonological integration. In other words, of all the different indices we defined, a large proportion of them (all those in the English-use and integration clusters) seem to be measuring phenomena which are closely related, and which we consider to comprise the major pattern of the process of loanword assimilation. The second component, the diverse-response axis, which accounts for much less of the variance, reflects an (as yet unexplained) association between gender consistency on one hand, and Total(types) and multiple responses on the other. The third and fourth components, each accounting for only about 10% of the variance, distinguish between clusters or indices which were close together on the first two components than is justified by their correlations. The projection down to two-dimensional space necessarily crowds together a few items which are not highly correlated, in order for the majority of the distances to correspond well to the correlation matrix. Allowing a third or fourth dimension alleviates some of these unwarranted proximities. (A preliminary survey of the next few principal components reveals no interpretable patterns.) We will return to these results below.

We then turned to another set of results produced during the same analysis. This is a study of where the test items (or semantic fields) are located in the space spanned by these components.

Since our choice of test items was not an attempt to sample the lexicon or parts of the lexicon in any systematic way, but was made for practical reasons, our aim here is not primarily to contrast different cultural domains or general types of nouns or of referents with respect to their susceptibility to borrowing. Rather we use the semantic field results to arrive at a more detailed understanding of the assimilation and integration processes measured by the 20 indices, which can then be abstracted to the broader lexicon.

Figure 3 plots the coordinates of the fields on components one and two. To illustrate the strong relationship of English use and integration to each other and to the major axis of loanword assimilation, the more integrated semantic fields according to Mean(token integration) are indicated as such, and the figure is divided according to regions of high, medium, and low values of Proportion(English tokens). With few exceptions, fields expressed by highly integrated and frequently used English words are at the right of the figure, and those only occasionally expressed by English words (and wich are less integrated) are found to the left.

That English use and phonological integration are not perfectly correlated is illustrated by the four items in the lower left-hand quadrant of the figure ("quarter", "nickel", "sofa", "garbage can") which show high integration indices, but where the use of English forms has not displaced Spanish, and by the location of "hamburger" and "tape", for which virtually no Spanish forms are used, but where the unintegrated English form is often nonetheless given in response to the stimulus.

Figure 4 is a copy of Figure 3 except that here we investigate the relationship of gender consistency and Total(types). It is at this point that we can best explicate the artifactual nature of this relationship. Those fields in the botton half of the figure tend to be those which elicited the most diverse response from the informants, e.g. the concept "matress" elicited the designations *matre, cama, bed, pillow, colcha, caucho* (< *couch*) *and cóber* (< *cover*); "building" elicited *bildin, apartamento, edificio, New Yersi, casa.* Since there were many different types, there could not be as many tokens for the most common English type as with the fields higher up in the figure. The smaller sample of tokens means that the possibility is reduced of detecting any gender conflict which may exist - a word which is feminine 90% of the time and masculine 10% of the time in discourse is not likely to show up as a gender conflict in the test if there are only three or four tokens of that word. Thus the apparent relationship between gender consistency and Total(types) is probably not a real effect, but an indirect result of limited sample size.

This is confirmed by the behavior of the Use-weighted consistency index, as mentioned earlier. Whereas the Field consistency index detects gender inconsistency even across entirely different lexical forms, and whereas Gender consistency scores test items with only a pair of inconsistent tokens just as low as those with half masculine and half feminine responses, the Use-weighted consistency index not only restricts the notion of consistency to being applicable to a single form, but it also takes account of the *degree* of inconsistency among the speakers. We saw in Table 2 that contrary to the other two gender consistency indices, Use-weighted consistency is not correlated with the elements of the integration cluster, and with the degree of concentration of the English usage on a single lexical form.

This suggests that if the other two consistency indices had not been included in the analysis, Use-weighted consistency--by definition the most accurate measure of the gender consistency of a word - would have been positioned quite differently in the principal component space.

Nevertheless, one pattern involving gender consistency in Figure 4 may be quite genuine. Gender conflict seems to afflict words midway along the assimilation axis (*turtle, butterfly, shade*) to a greater extent than those at either extreme. That *watch, pig, and bat* on the left show no conflict may be due to the low number of English tokens. But that so many of the highly assimilated words show no conflict cannot be explained away. Indeed, much of the apparent conflict that does exist among these words is due to divergent phonological forms which determine gender (*la suera/el sulter, la hamberga/el hambérguer*), and so gender consistency is actually higher than appears for these words. This preliminary result indicates that conflict in gender assignment is a transitory stage on the route to assimilation of certain loanwords, and tends to disappear as frequency of use and phonological integration increase. Of course, this is not surprising, but the analysis of the relationship of the processes involved in an objective and systematic manner, rather than anecdotally, is innovative.

Summarizing the semantic field results, the difference in the pattern of responses to the various test items is largely along a single dimension, from fields which are rarely represented by English words, these words being relatively unintegrated, to fields which are almost always represented by phonologically integrated forms of English origin. Of the variability among the test items not accounted for by this dimension, a large proportion is accounted for along a second dimension. The semantic fields at one end of this latter axis are those which elicit a variety of different forms (which tend to be mostly Spanish) and hence not enough data for any single English form to manifest gender inconsistency, and at the other end are fields which elicit few forms, so that one English form occurs in quantities sufficient to detect even a small degree of gender inconsistency. The association of response-diversity and gender inconsistency is not, therefore, a linguistically significant fact but a consequence of the test format.

In our intergenerational comparison, we chose 12 or our 20 indices and evaluated them separately for the 14 children and 8 adults in our sample, resulting in 24 distinct measures. (The computational tools we are using have limited capacity, and so we eliminated indices which had proved redundant or not systematically patterned in the previous analysis, or could not be applied to the smaller data sets.)

Table 4 compares children's and adult's mean scores on these 12 indices. That the indices in the English-use cluster - Proportion(English tokens), Proportion(English first choices), Proportion(English-only responses), and Proportion(non-Spanish-only)- are all higher for the children than the adults is clear evidence that English usage is more a part of the children's repertoire than it is for their parents.

Note that the larger values among the children for Total(tokens) and the Total(multi-response speakers) are due to the fact that these are not normalized by the number of speakers: there are almost twice as many children (14) as adults (8) in the sample.

When the 24 measures are entered into a principal components analysis, the results are as in Figure 5.

Two main tendencies emerge from these results. First, despite the changes in the set of indices, and the distinction made between children and adults, the major patterns of the original analysis remain stable. The English-use cluster, the integration cluster, and the multiple-response cluster are situated with respect to each other in much the same configuration. The Field gender consistency indices are somewhat more central than in the original, but the overall pattern remains.

Second, we note a striking congruence between the child and adult data. The English-use cluster for adults is very close to that of the children, and similarly for the integration clusters and the Field consistency indices. The multiple-response clusters are somewhat farther apart, but in the same general area. The Proportion(English first choice)/Proportion(English tokens) and Total(no response) indices show wide separation between children and adults, but are in much the same relationship with the rest of the indices. This congruence is proof that the mechanics of integration proceed in a parallel fashion for children and adults. Insofar as there are some intergenerational differences, these are largely confined to the second principal component, which contrasts multi-response indices against those associated with simple responses. Here the children's indices have more extreme values than the adults', indicating a greater variability in their responses regarding the number of different terms supplied for each concept. As we have shown however, this result is essentially an artifact of test construction, and does not reflect any real intergenerational linguistic difference.